DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 259 998 SO 016 718

AUTHOR Hou, Charles; Hou, Cynthia
TITLE The Riel Rebellion: A Biographical Approach. Teacher's Guide.
REPORT NO ISBN-0-919478-63-8
PUB DATE 84
NOTE 74p.; For student book, see SO 016 717. Some photographs, charts, and illustrations may not reproduce clearly.
AVAILABLE FROM Lesson Aids Service, British Columbia Teachers' Federation, 2235 Burrard St., Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada V6J 3H9 ($9.95).
PUB TYPE Guides - Classroom Use - Guides (For Teachers) (052)

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS *Biographies; Experiential Learning; High Schools; *History Instruction; Inquiry; Legal Education; Resource Materials; Student Research; Teaching Guides; Teaching Methods; Units of Study
IDENTIFIERS *Canadian Studies; Mock Trials; *Riel Rebellion (1885)

ABSTRACT

Instructions are provided to help high school teachers implement a unit of study dealing with the life of Louis Riel, who as the leader of the Canadian Rebellion of 1885 led his followers into armed conflict with the Canadian government. The guide first outlines the unit's educational objectives. The bulk of the guide discusses the two major methods that can be used to teach the unit and suggests specific activities and projects for each technique. The historical method of inquiry involves students in a factual study of the background, events, and personalities of the Rebellion. The method also involves students in playing the role of historian by researching and evaluating issues and drawing conclusions. The second teaching method is the legal method of inquiry that involves students in establishing what happened in the past and explaining why it happened. Students stage a retrial of Riel. Specific instructions for the retrial, including prosecution and defense strategies, descriptions of the roles of the major participants, trial procedures, and a glossary of legal terms are provided. A bibliography of films, slides, maps, and legal documents concludes the guide. (RM)

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The Riel Rebellion:

A Biographical Approach

Teacher's Guide

Charles and Cynthia Hou

Tantalus Research Limited
Vancouver, Canada

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Vancouver, British Columbia

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Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data

Hou, Charles, 1940 -
The Riel Rebellion : a biographical approach. Teacher's Guide

Supplement to: Hou, Charles, 1940-
The Riel Rebellion : a biographical approach.

Bibliography: p.
ISBN 0-919478-63-8

1. Riel Rebellion, 1885. 2. Riel Rebellion, 1885 - Biography.
3. Riel, Louis, 1844-1885. I. Hou, Cynthia, 1941-
II. Title
FC3215.H68 1984 Suppl. 971.05'4
F1060.9.H68 1984 Suppl. C84-091476-8

Acknowledgements:
Helpful suggestions regarding the teacher's guide were provided by Stephen Bailey, M.O. Bakker, William Claire, John Collins, Harvie Walker and Betty Wentworth. Photographs of the student retrial were taken by Mark Van Manen. Initial assistance was provided by the Legal Services Commission of British Columbia as part of its Public Schools Legal Education Project. The Burnaby School Board provided invaluable support in field testing of the material.

Typesetting by Addison Graphics Ltd.
White Rock, B.C. Canada
Printed and Bound in Canada by
G.A. Roedde Ltd., Richmond, B.C.

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I. Introduction

The late 1870's and early 1880's were a time of rapid change in western Canada. The signing of treaties with the Indians, the extermination of the once-great buffalo herds, the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the influx of thousands of settlers all occurred within a relatively short period of time, and changed the face of the prairie forever.

For the native people of the region these years were particularly difficult. Accustomed to a nomadic or semi-nomadic way of life based on the buffalo hunt, they found it hard to give up the freedom they had known and settle down to a new way of life based on agriculture. When problems arose, the Indians and Metis alike found the Canadian government unresponsive to their pleas for help. The Indians discovered that treaty promises of support during the years of change were not always fully carried out, and were incensed as well at the arrogance of some of the Indian agents and farm instructors assigned to help them. The Metis, in their turn, were particularly unhappy with their difficulty in getting the government to grant them title to the lands they occupied. Many of the white people who lived in the North West could readily sympathize with the natives' feelings of frustration. They had grievances of their own — among them the lack of parliamentary representation and responsible government — and a similar lack of success in gaining Ottawa's attention. Out of these years of discontent grew the Riel Rebellion of 1885, described by Canadian author Rudy Wiebe as *the* turning point in Canadian history.

In the 1980's attention has once again been focused on the west. The world fuel crisis gives new importance to diminishing prairie oil supplies; native land claims are again a major issue; and feelings of western alienation dominate the Canadian political scene. The west is once again demanding constitutional changes to reflect regional needs. Striking parallels can be drawn with the events of a hundred years ago, and this makes the period of the Riel Rebellion a particularly relevant topic for study.

Teachers have long known that one of the best ways of interesting students in history is to use the biographical approach. Louis Riel, the key figure in the rebellion, was a most intriguing person and much has been written about him. As Canada's most famous rebel hero, he is an ideal subject with which to capture the imagination of the high school student. Student interest may also be sparked by studies of the other figures, both great and small, who played a role in the rebellion or in surrounding events.

Biographical study in general may take a variety of forms. In the approach most commonly taken, history is sometimes compared to a rope made up of individual strands (see figure one). Each strand represents the life of one individual, and as one comes to an end, others are woven in in its place. The historian who studies an individual's entire life in detail follows one strand of the rope. The "strand approach" allows the historian to focus his or

her attention on one person at a time. It allows him to look at a period of history from one individual's point of view, and to emphasize the continuity of events. Its disadvantages lie in the sometimes superficial coverage of individual events and in the overemphasis which may be placed on one "great" man. As historian Arthur Lower has stated, "There is always peril in concentrating too intensely on one thread in human affairs when it is the whole cable of many strands that has to be accounted for."[1]

Biographical Studies

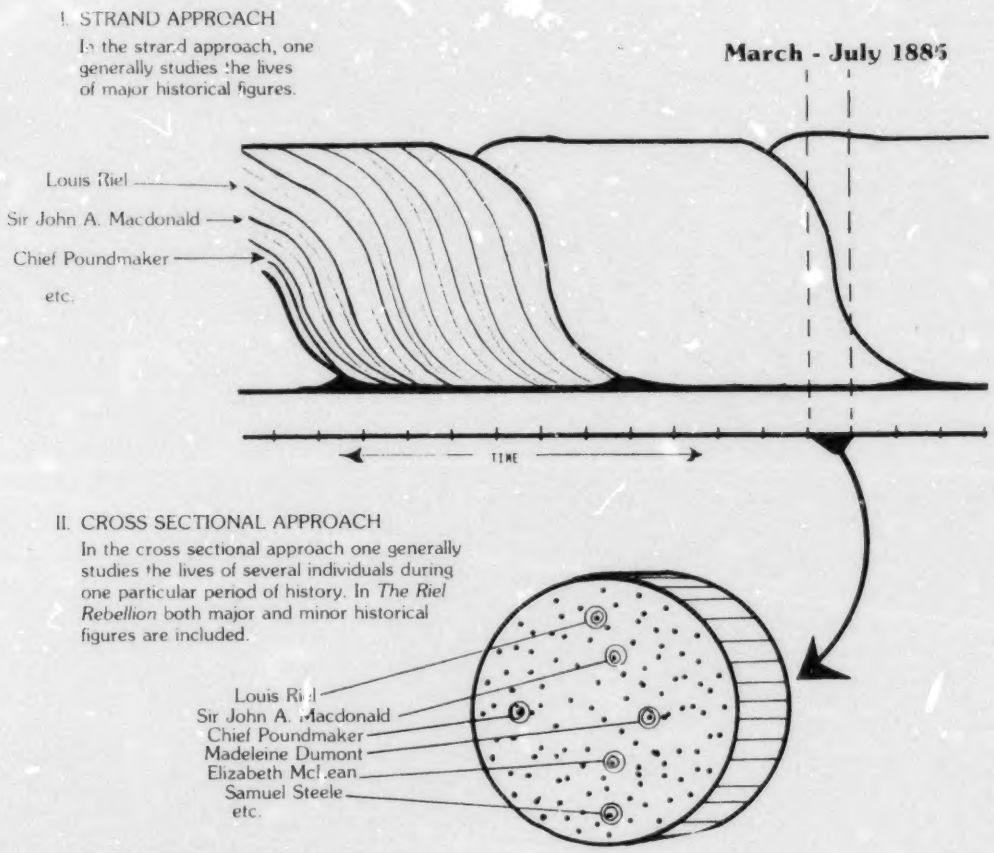
I. STRAND APPROACH
In the strand approach, one generally studies the lives of major historical figures.
March - July 1885
Louis Riel
Sir John A. Macdonald
Chief Poundmaker
etc.
TIME
II. CROSS SECTIONAL APPROACH
In the cross sectional approach one generally studies the lives of several individuals during one particular period of history. In The Riel Rebellion both major and minor historical figures are included.
Louis Riel
Sir John A. Macdonald
Chief Poundmaker
Madeleine Dumont
Elizabeth McLean
Samuel Steele
etc.

Figure 1.

Another approach to biographical study which may be taken might be called the "cross sectional approach." Using the analogy of the rope, the historian cuts a segment from it and examines the individual strands in relation to one another. The historian is thus able to study one period of history in depth and to look at an event or series of events from the point of view of a number of people.

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1 Arthur Lower, *A Pattern for History*, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1978, p. 23.

The second approach in particular is ideally suited to a study of the Riel Rebellion. While Riel himself could easily command one's full attention, there are many other interesting figures in Lower's "cable of many strands." Among the better known are Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald, whose failure to heed Indian and Metis grievances contributed to the outbreak of the rebellion; Gabriel Dumont, the Metis military leader who led his people to victory at Duck Lake and Fish Creek and met defeat at Batoche; and Cree Chief Poundmaker, who tried desperately but unsuccessfully to keep his people out of the rebellion. Other relatively unknown people with fascinating stories to tell include the representative of an American machine gun company sent to Canada to demonstrate his wares under battle conditions; a Metis woman who nursed the rebel wounded at Fish Creek and Batoche; a teenage girl who spent nearly a month in a police barracks while Indians looted nearby homes; and a priest who had opposed Riel but accompanied him to the scaffold on the day of his execution. Although the latter individuals might be mentioned in passing, if at all, in a biography of Riel or in a more traditional approach to the rebellion, they can provide us with unique and interesting insights into this period of our history. Even students who find history in its usual form boring or intimidating may well find that they can relate to events described from the point of view of ordinary people.

The material in *The Riel Rebellion* can be used in three ways. The simplest of these involves a factual study of the background, events and personalities of the Rebellion of 1885. The first chapter, summarizing Riel's life up to 1884, should be read by all of the students. A typical series of lessons would then involve an introduction by the teacher to a specific chapter of the book, followed by a study of some or all of the individuals associated with that chapter. The first two biographies in each chapter give the key information in that chapter from opposing points of view, and these should be read by everyone. The teacher should then assign (or let the students select) additional biographies for study. The book is designed for maximum flexibility, and the number of individuals studied depends on the time available and the objectives of the teacher.

The brief introduction and the short biographical summaries found at the beginning of each chapter are designed to focus the attention of the students on the content of the chapter. So, too, are a number of questions which appear under the heading "Reading with a Purpose" at the beginning of each chapter. The teacher can also use these as the basis for a written assignment or a class discussion. The biographical approach to the rebellion furnishes a great deal of stimulating information, and this can readily be channelled into written, oral and visual activities. A number of the projects suggested at the end of each chapter and in the teacher's guide lend themselves to this approach, and interest and comprehension may be heightened by having the students complete one or more of these. By a judicious choice of assignments, the teacher may easily provide for a wide variety of individual interests and abilities.

In the second approach to *The Riel Rebellion* the student is encouraged to view the subject with a spirit of inquiry, much as an historian would. A series of lessons might again begin in a fairly structured way, with the teacher introducing the material and suggesting direction for further work. A number of the projects suggested in the text and in the teacher's

guide require the student to research and evaluate information on historical and contemporary issues and draw a conclusion from the material gathered. The culmination of a series of lessons might be the submission of reports, the staging of a classroom dramatization or debate, or individual or group presentations to the class. By learning to critically analyze and interpret both primary and secondary sources of information, and by learning how to organize and express his or her thoughts, the student will acquire many of the skills needed to understand and cope with present day problems confronting society. A more complete discussion of this approach is given in Chapter III.

A third way to approach the material in *The Riel Rebellion* is from the legal point of view with a retrial of Louis Riel providing the focus for the unit. The original trial of Riel for treason in the summer of 1885 brought together many of the people who were involved in some way in the rebellion or who were affected by it, and a number of these are the subjects of biographical study in *The Riel Rebellion*. So, too, are many others who might well have been called as witnesses but were not. Among these are settlers, Indian chiefs, military men and the prime minister of Canada. Together, these people represent a cross section of Canadian society in 1885. By role playing the parts of Riel, the witnesses testifying at his trial, and the legal officials who conduct it, students are able to re-live a major historical event and gain a much deeper understanding of an important period in Canadian history. This approach in particular offers much to the teacher who is interested in individual interests and abilities. It is an excellent vehicle for the introduction of primary source materials and the concept of bias, and provides an ideal way of learning how our legal system operates. A more complete discussion of this approach is given in Chapter IV, along with a detailed guide to conducting a retrial.

II. Objectives

The objectives listed here are stated in terms of intended learning outcomes. More specific objectives can be set according to the approach taken and the needs, interests and abilities of the students.

Knowledge

At the end of this unit students should be able to:

1. list the steps leading to provincial status for Manitoba
2. explain the significance of the formation of the North West Mounted Police, the decline of the buffalo herds in the 1870's, the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the increasing settlement of the North West as events leading up to the Rebellion of 1885
3. describe the significant personalities, events and places associated with the Rebellion of 1885
4. describe how various groups of people (Indians, Metis, white civilians, military men, etc.) experienced the Rebellion of 1885
5. explain the role of the Rebellion of 1885 in the evolution of parliamentary representation and responsible government for the North West Territories and eventually provincial status for Saskatchewan and Alberta
6. define and use terms associated with the unit
7. distinguish between primary and secondary sources of information and understand their relative value
8. describe the long term implications of the Riel Rebellion
9. explain in general terms how our legal system operates
10. explain how social, political and cultural factors affect the legal process
11. describe courtroom procedures and the roles of the judge, jury, clerk, sheriff and Crown and defence lawyers
12. define the basic terms associated with a jury trial.

Skills

At the end of this unit students should be able to:

1. give oral and written answers to questions dealing with the material studied
2. demonstrate the ability to organize events in chronological order
3. work individually or in small groups to prepare oral or written reports and visual displays
4. participate in panel and class discussions and debates
5. interpret and compare historical and contemporary maps
6. practise research skills using a variety of primary and secondary sources of information
7. use critical thinking skills in evaluating and interpreting biased primary and secondary sources of information
8. use reporting skills to assemble and present information in a meaningful way
9. role play an historical figure, recreating that individual's personality and speaking from his or her point of view
10. role play one of the figures associated with a jury trial.

Attitudes

At the end of this unit students should:

1. understand and appreciate Metis, half-breed, Indian and white Canadian culture and attitudes of the late 1880's
2. be able to develop and defend a position on important issues such as aboriginal land claims, the benefits and problems of progress, the depletion of natural resources, legal and illegal means of bringing about change, self-government, the jury system of justice, national unity, constitutional change, etc.
3. learn to tolerate other points of view
4. develop an interest in history, government and the legal process
5. appreciate the complexity of courtroom procedures
6. understand how it feels to play various roles in a legal proceeding
7. learn to work with other people and co-operate in a worthwhile group experience
8. recognize that the bad feeling generated in a population by a real or perceived injustice may persist for many years
9. recognize that studying the problems of the past helps us to understand and cope with the problems of the present.

III. The Historical Method of Inquiry

A. A Description of the Approach

Many of the "Ideas For Projects" given in *The Riel Rebellion* and in the teacher's guide require the student to demonstrate more than simple recall or comprehension of the material covered. Students may, for example, be asked to describe what happened in the past, analyze why it happened, and even pass judgement upon it. They must learn to define the issue or problem clearly, seek out and evaluate information, and identify possible solutions before drawing a conclusion. It may also be advantageous for them to go beyond the textbook to seek out further information.

In dealing with such issues the student is required to develop and use the skills used by an historian in his or her investigation of an historical problem. For this reason it will be useful to discuss briefly the steps involved in the historical method of inquiry (see figure 2). The teacher may wish to present this approach to the students before they undertake a major assignment.

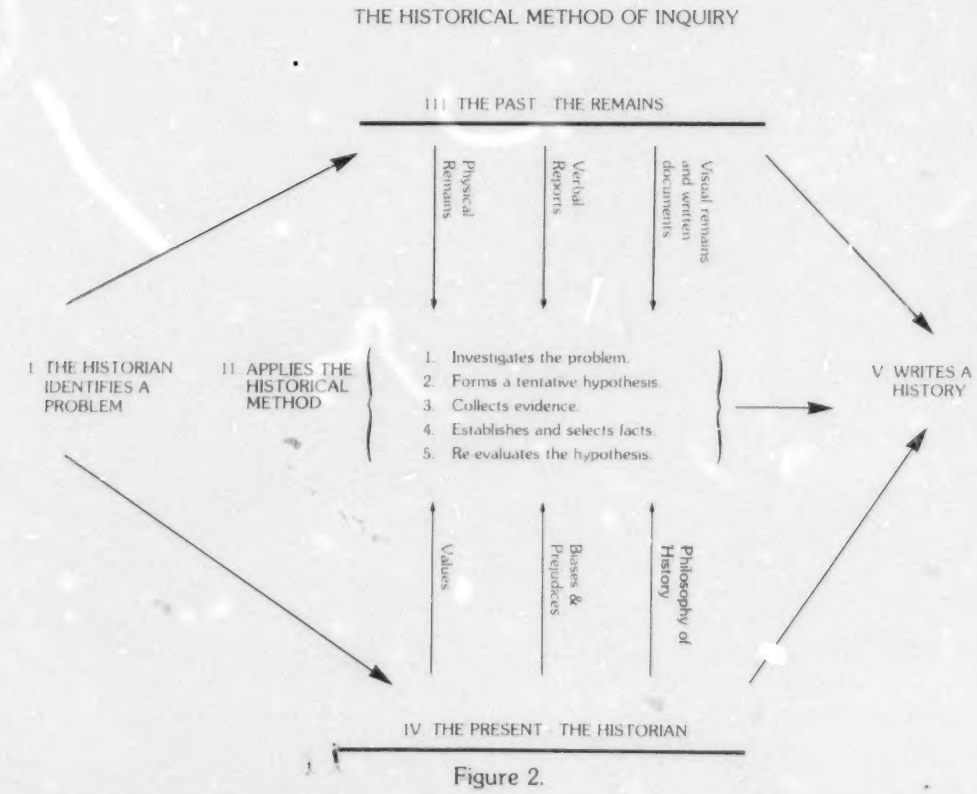
THE HISTORICAL METHOD OF INQUIRY
III. THE PAST - THE REMAINS
Physical Remains
Verbal Reports
Visual remains and written documents
I. THE HISTORIAN IDENTIFIES A PROBLEM
II. APPLIES THE HISTORICAL METHOD
1. Investigates the problem.
2. Forms a tentative hypothesis.
3. Collects evidence.
4. Establishes and selects facts.
5. Re-evaluates the hypothesis.
V. WRITES A HISTORY
Values
Biases & Prejudices
Philosophy of History
IV. THE PRESENT - THE HISTORIAN

Figure 2.

The historian begins his inquiry when he selects a problem for investigation. While reading about the Rebellion of 1885, for example, he might ask himself "Was Riel guilty of high treason in 1885?" Before delving into the problem too deeply he would read broadly on the topic and attempt to develop an explanation of Riel's actions. Armed with this hypothesis, he would then collect all the pertinent information available on the Rebellion of 1885 and Riel's involvement in it.

As none of the witnesses of the rebellion are alive today, the event is accessible to us only indirectly. While physical remains such as battle sites, cemeteries, roads, fortifications, buildings, weapons, paintings and photographs are useful in reconstructing the events of the period, written documents are the most helpful sources of material. People who witnessed or were in some way involved in the rebellion have provided us with a wealth of information about what happened and what was said and done. They have left a record of their experiences in the form of military dispatches, government reports, letters, diaries, memoirs, autobiographies, maps, cartoons and newspaper reports. Ballads, legends, and word of mouth descriptions, although not as useful or as reliable as written materials, may also provide information on an event.

The sources mentioned above are the raw materials of history and are known as primary sources. Because they contain the testimony of people alive at the time of the event, they are the sources preferred by historians. Secondary sources such as biographies and history books are generally not used by historians, although they may be consulted for background information.

Once the historian has gathered all available material pertaining to his subject, he must attempt to establish the facts. Collingwood compares the historian's task with that of a lawyer:

> History finds its proper method when the historian puts his authorities in the witness-box, and by cross-questioning extorts from them information which in their original statements they have withheld, either because they did not wish to give it or because they did not possess it.[2]

The evidence gained by the historian must then be weighed. Continuing the judicial analogy,

> Each personal witness must be regarded by the student much as a judge and jury regard witnesses on the stand. Testimony must be evaluated as firsthand or hearsay, fresh or stale, prejudiced or unprejudiced, corroborated or uncorroborated, vague or definite.[3]

This evaluation of the information found by the historian takes place at two levels—that of external criticism and that of internal criticism. External criticism is an investigation of the origin or "pedigree" of the material. By tracing the origin of the physical remain, verbal

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2 R.G. Collingwood, "The Idea of History," *The Social Studies*, ed. M. Feldman and E. Seifman, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1969, p. 62

3 A. Nevins, *The Gateway to History*, New York, Doubleday, 1962, p. 209.

report or document, the historian can determine whether or not the material is authentic and whether it has reached us without being tampered with. Internal evidence, on the other hand, deals with the content of the source. The historian determines what the witness or author intended to say, establishes his credibility and competence, ascertains his frame of reference, and checks for exaggerations and contradictions in the testimony. Although much of the information regarding the event may have been lost over the years, the historian has the advantage of looking at what *is* available from the perspective of history.

After the historian has established the facts, his next task is to reevaluate his hypothesis in the light of the evidence he has uncovered. If the facts confirm his theory he can then select those facts pertinent to his subject and organize them in a meaningful way. If the facts contradict his theory, he must adapt or change his hypothesis to fit the facts.

The historian's interpretation of the facts he has uncovered is central to his task. It is not enough for the historian in our example to list endless details about the Rebellion of 1885; he must ultimately draw a conclusion from them. He may decide for a variety of reasons that Riel was guilty of treason in 1885 or that he was not.

One of the most intriguing and exciting aspects of history is the fact that two historians using the same source of information can come up with conflicting interpretations of the same events. Each historian has his own frame of reference, and no two historians look at the same facts in precisely the same way. Each will be influenced by his own values, his own set of biases and prejudices — local, national, occupational, religious, racial or political feelings — and his own philosophy of history. The historian in our example may value the preservation of the traditional lifestyle of the people already living in the North West, or he may favour the idea of progress and the right of an incoming population to exert its influence. He may believe in Toynbee's theory of history as the origin, growth and decay of civilizations, Marx' concept of history as a struggle between the oppressor and the oppressed, or St. Augustine's view of history as a struggle between the forces of good and evil. As Beard has stated:

> . . . no historian can describe the past as it actually was and . . . every historian's work — that is, his selection of the facts, his emphasis, his omissions, his organization, his method of presentation — bears a relation to his own personality and the age and circumstance in which he lives.[4]

In *The Riel Rebellion* the student is given the opportunity to look at the Rebellion of 1885 as an historian would. Each brief biography is accompanied by at least one primary source of information, and the questions at the beginning and end of each chapter are designed to help the student digest, reflect on, or expand on the material covered. While some questions involve a simple review of the material read, many require the student to apply one or more of the steps involved in the historical method. At the end of the unit on the Rebellion of 1885, each student should be able to draw his own conclusions regarding the rebellion and Riel's guilt or innocence, and each should have increased his level of investigative, interpretive, organizational and reporting skills.

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4 H. Meyerhoff, *The Philosphy of History in Our Time*, New York, Doubleday, 1959, p. 139.

B. Ideas for Projects

The textbook contains many suggestions for student projects relating to specific chapters. The following additional projects can be used for extension or enrichment.

1. Imagine that an Historical Hall of Fame has been established in Canada and that there is room for only five of the people associated with the Rebellion of 1885. Each student in the class should choose one individual from the text and prepare a five-minute oral report nominating that person to the Hall of Fame. Students should refer to appropriate illustrations, maps or documents. After all the reports have been given, a vote should be taken.

2. Who am I? After the class has read *The Riel Rebellion*, each student should prepare ten clues relating to one of the people discussed in the book. Start with more difficult clues and progress to easier ones. The student or team of students who can identify the person after the first clue gets 10 points, after the second, 9 points, etc.

3. The Canadian postal service often issues commemorative stamps honouring important persons or events in our history. Working individually or in groups, prepare a brief nominating five persons or events associated with the Rebellion of 1885. Include illustrations of possible stamps. You may wish to send your suggestions to the post office (Philatelic Division, Ottawa Post Office, Ottawa, Ontario).

4. Many speeches were given before, during and after the Rebellion of 1885, and many others might have been. Choose a role and a topic and use your imagination in writing a short speech to give to the class. You may use one of the following suggestions or come up with your own:
   (a) a speech William Jackson might have made in 1884 warning the federal government of the consequences of neglecting western Canada
   (b) Louis Riel's speech to the Metis in February 1885 denouncing the Macdonald government for ignoring their petition, and offering to return to the United States
   (c) Lieutenant-Colonel Otter's speech inspiring his men before they left Toronto for the North West
   (d) Chief Poundmaker's speech to the court at his trial in Regina
   (e) a speech Effie Laurie could have made urging members of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire to look after the graves of the men who died in the Battle of Cut Knife Hill.

5. Prepare for a "Front Page Challenge" style quiz programme. One student should become an expert on an important event in the Rebellion of 1885 and role play a person who took part in it. Four panelists should be given three minutes in which to identify the event. When the panelists have done so, or when three minutes are up, the panelists should ask the guest relevant and interesting questions about his or her experiences.

6 Explain the meaning of the following cartoons.

WHAT IT MUST COME TO.
(With the encroachment of civilization.)
PACIFIC OCEAN
CIVILIZATION
Officer—"Here, you copper colored gentlemen, no loafing allowed, you must either work or jump."

A cartoon which appeared in the Toronto News *on June 20, 1885.*

THE GOV'T HAD NO RIGHT TO HANG LUMBERING SPIRIT BECAUSE HE WAS OF THE INDIAN RACE.
THE GOV'T HAD NO RIGHT TO HANG RIEL, BECAUSE HE WAS OF THE FRENCH RACE
QUEBEC
WEST
FRENCH NONSENSE: OR, "REDUCTIO AD ABSURDUM."

A cartoon which appreared in Grip *on December 5, 1885.*

7. Prepare a wall chart listing the important places relating to the Rebellion of 1885. Beside each place briefly explain its importance. Include a map locating the places.
8. Prepare a debate on one of the following topics: Resolved that
   (a) Major Steele was a better military leader than Major-General Middleton.
   (b) Louis Riel should have let Gabriel Dumont conduct unlimited guerrilla warfare against the Canadian militia.
   (c) Gabriel Dumont was the real leader of the Metis in 1885.
   (d) Sir John A. Macdonald made the correct decision when he refused to commute Louis Riel's death sentence.
   (e) Louis Riel should be pardoned for his part in the Rebellion of 1885.
9. List in chronological order the ten most important events and dates of the Riel Rebellion. Explain the significance of each.
10. Write a newspaper article entitled:
    (a) "Hardships Suffered by Prairie Indians from 1879 to 1885." (Include information on the bands of Chiefs Poundmaker and Big Bear and the tribe of Chief Crowfoot.)
    (b) "Terror suffered by Riel Rebellion Hostages in 1885." (Include information on Theresa Delaney and Elizabeth McLean.)
11. The following plea for mercy for Louis Riel appeared in *Grip* magazine on September 5, 1885. Imagine that you are a white settler from Battleford who lost his home and cattle in the rebellion. Prepare your own cartoon and poem urging the government to execute Riel.

QUEBEC TO CANADA.

You have the land our fathers bought
With toil and blood, and pain;
De Mont's and Cartier's earnest thought—
The life-work of Champlain;

From fair Acadia's smiling strand
To wide Ontario's shore,
Where Norman swords fought, hand to hand—
The Iroquois, of yore.

And those great Western wilds, afar,
Where braves and beaver roam,
And where the hardy *voyageur*
First made his wild-wood home;

All, all is yours,—from east to west
The British banner streams,
And yet within the conquered breast,
Still live the early dreams;

And when your rich men grudge our poor
Their homes on those far plains,
The blood of the old *voyageur*
Leaps, boiling in our veins!

And *one*, whose brain was fired with thought
Of suffering and of wrong,
Took arms in evil hour and fought
For weak ones, with the strong!

The wild scheme failed—how could it stand
Against such fearful odds?
And brave hearts sleep in that far land
Beneath the prairie sods.

And yet, perchance, the battle cheers
And tumult of the fray,
Have brought the sufferers' cry to ears
That else were deaf, to-day!

But he who fought for others' weal,
For those he loved so well
Lies, prisoner of your fire and steel,
Low in a felon's cell.

Pity the captive in your hand,
Pity the conquered race—
You, strong, victorious, in the land,
Grant us the victor's grace!

—FIDELIS.

12. You have read about the battles at Duck Lake, Fish Creek, Batoche, Cut Knife Hill, Red Deer Creek or Loon Lake, or about important events at Frog Lake, Fort Pitt or Battleford. Your class has decided that the historic sites branch of the federal government should make several of these sites into first class tourist attractions. (Examples of such attractions are Barkerville and Fort Langley in British Columbia, Heritage Park in Alberta, Fort Battleford in Saskatchewan, Lower Fort Garry in Manitoba, Upper Canada Village in Ontario and Louisbourg in Nova Scotia.) Work in groups to deal with different sites. Each group should prepare an illustrated presentation describing what should be done at the site. At this stage money is not a problem. Use your imagination to make the site as interesting as possible. Each group should make its presentation to the rest of the class. If your school is near a National Historic Site, invite the director to attend your presentation and ask him for suggestions on improving it. Send your proposal to the National Historic Sites office in Ottawa.

13. You are the master of ceremonies at a "boast and roast" banquet honouring major military personalities of the Rebellion of 1885. Prepare brief introductory remarks for all of the featured guests (Superintendent Crozier, Gabriel Dumont, Lieutenant-Colonel Otter, Chief Poundmaker, Wandering Spirit, Major Steele, Major-General Middleton and Captain Howard). Other students should take the roles of each of the military leaders and prepare speeches in which they boast about their military abilities and exploits and "roast" those of their opponents. A little exaggeration and humour should be part of each speech.

14. You are a guest speaker at an army cadet class. You are asked to describe one of the following battles and give your assessment of the military lessons to be learned from it:
    (a) the Battle of Duck Lake
    (b) the Battle of Fish Creek
    (c) the Battle of Cut Knife Hill
    (d) the Battle of Batoche
    (e) the Battle of Red Deer Creek
    (f) the skirmish at Loon Lake
    Give your talk to the class.

15. Visit a local museum, archives or library which contains physical remains or primary and secondary sources of information dealing with the rebellion. Sketch, photograph or copy some of your more interesting findings. Make a report to the class.

16. Interview descendants of people who took part in the rebellion, or invite them to visit your class. Ask them to show you mementos such as diaries, photographs, letters, newspaper articles, uniforms or medals. You may wish to contact people through your local historical society or by writing a letter to the editor of a local paper.

17. Having read about the events of the Rebellion of 1885, your class has decided to take an imaginary field trip to two of the related sites. Which would you select? Explain the reasons for your choice. What would you like to see and do once you get to the sites?

18. It is very difficult for an historian to arrive at accurate casualty figures for the Indians and Metis involved in the Rebellion of 1885. Gabriel Dumont's and Major-General Middleton's estimates for the Battles of Fish Creek and Batoche are given below.

Estimates of Indian and Metis Casualties				
	at Fish Creek		at Batoche	
	Killed	Wounded	Killed	Wounded
Dumont's estimate	5	1	13	2
Middleton's estimate	11	18	51	173

Suggest why these estimates differ so dramatically. Check at least five secondary sources that give estimates of the Indian and Metis casualties.

Author and Title	Pages	Fish Creek		Batoche	
		Killed	Wounded	Killed	Wounded
Thomas Flanagan *Louis 'David' Riel*	137				
Desmond Morton *The Last War Drum*	68, 92				
George Woodcock *Gabriel Dumont (Hurtig)*	204, 218, 220.				
Peter Charlebois *The Life of Louis Riel*	183, 199				
George Stanley *Louis Riel*	332, 336, 338				

Whose estimates do historians tend to accept regarding Fish Creek? How do you think they arrived at this decision?

Historians seem to be less able to agree on the figures for Batoche. Suggest reasons for this difference. Middleton apparently based his estimates on figures given him by an unnamed Catholic priest: 1st day, 4 killed and 5 wounded; 2nd day, 2 wounded; 3rd day, 3 wounded; 4th day, 47 killed and 163 wounded; total, 51 killed and 173 wounded.

19. Study the list of potential jurors for the trial of Louis Riel, and answer the questions which follow.

CANADA,
North-West Territories. } THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES ACT.

THE QUEEN vs. LOUIS RIEL.

The following is a list of the persons summoned by the undersigned, a stipendiary magistrate, in and for the said Territories, pursuant to the provisions of "The North-West Territories Act, 1880," and from whom the jury required in the trial of the charges against you, a copy of which is hereto annexed, are to be called:

Name.	All in the North-West Territories, Canada.				Profession or Addition.
	Place of Abode.				
	Section.	Township.	Range.	Meridian.	
Francis Cosgrave	18	16	1	W 2	Farmer.
Benjamin Limoges	24	16	3	W 2	do
Thomas Howard	14	14	3	W 2	do
Peel Deane	32	16	5	W 2	do
Walter Merryfield	16	15	6	W 2	do
John Fotheringham	32	15	8	W 2	do
Wm. D. Perley	34	16	10	W 2	do
Thomas Gordan	10	18	11	W 2	do
Robert C. Rigby	26	18	12	W 2	do
Joseph Sheppard	16	18	12	W 2	do
Edwin J. Brooks	26	19	13	W 2	Merchant.
William Broley	34	19	13	W 2	Farmer.
Owen Strickland	20	20	12	W 2	do
Donald Gunn	30	21	13	W 2	do
Wilton R. C. Papy	16	21	14	W 2	do
Arthur Webster	34	17	14	W 2	do
Adam Auld	4	19	14	W 2	do
Malcolm A. McLane	18	17	15	W 2	do
John B. Davis	18	18	15	W 2	do
William C. Brooke	16	18	15	W 2	do
Thomas Wright	28	19	15	W 2	do
Henry T. Whittaker	30	16	19	W 2	do
John McCallum	22	18	19	W 2	do
Demetrius Woodward	36	17	20	W 2	do
Peter McCallum	2	18	24	W 2	do
Michael Sullivan	28	16	25	W 2	do
Thomas Rogers	16	17	25	W 2	do
Edward Eratt	32	18	25	W 2	do
James W. Wrong	30	16	28	W 2	do
James Watson	30	16	26	W 2	do
John McIntyre	8	17	19	W 2	do
Oliver T. Stone, Sussex	.....	.....	.....	W 2	do
Albert E. Fregent, Fort Qu'Appelle	.....	.....	.....	W 2	Merchant.
George Anderson, Greenfield	.....	.....	.....	W 2	Contractor.
Hy. J. Painter, Brandon	.....	.....	.....	W 2	Merchant.
Thomas Bull, Penso	.....	.....	.....	W 2	do

Dated at Regina, N.-W.T., this sixth day of July, A.D., 1885.

HUGH RICHARDSON,
A Stipendiary Magistrate for the North-West Territories of Canada.

(a) How many individuals did Stipendary Magistrate Richardson select for consideration as jury members?

(b) Map the "place of abode" of each on the map showing townships and ranges. (Ignore the columns headed section and meridian.) Draw the Canadian Pacific Railway line passing through Moose Jaw, Regina and Moosomin in red. Where did most of the jury members live? Why is this significant? Where did most of the settlers in Saskatchewan come from prior to 1885? Why are there no Metis on the list?

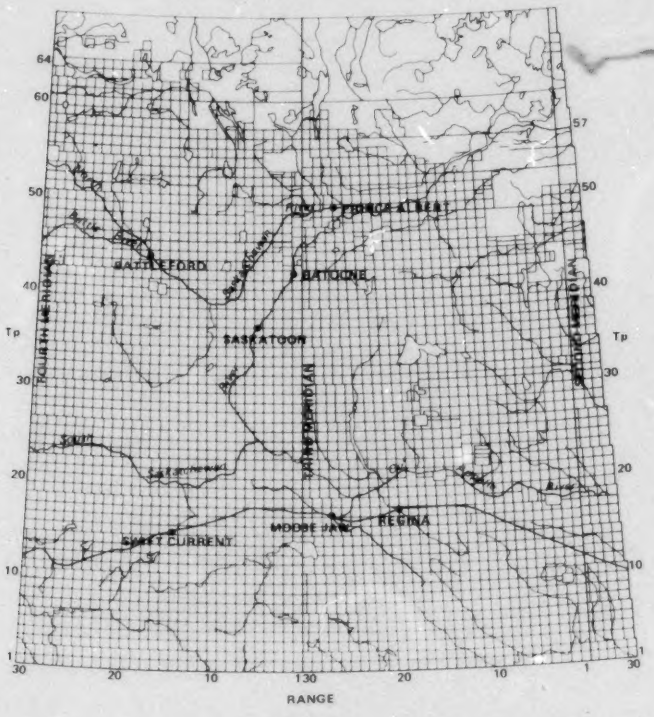
(c) How many are farmers? Merchants? Contractors?

(d) Go to the public library and take out a book on name origins. How many of the potential jury members have French Canadian names? British? etc. Bar graph your results and comment on the significance of your findings. (The origin of people living in the Saskatchewan District was: Indian 59%, British 15%, Metis 14%, half-breed 11%, other 1%; in the Assiniboia District: Indian 21%, British 71%, Metis 4%, half-breed 1%, other 3%.)

(e) Why are there no women or Indians on the list?

(f) By now you have learned quite a bit about the jury members. Give reasons why their places of abode, occupations, ethnic origins and sex might have been significant. List anything else about the jury members which might have influenced their decision at the trial of Louis Riel.

(g) Be prepared to debate the following resolution in class (prepare arguments for both the affirmative and the negative):
Louis Riel would have received a fairer trial if the jury had been selected from people living in the Saskatchewan District rather than the Assiniboia District.



20. Write your own account of the events at Frog Lake on April 2, 1885. Base your report on the following primary source accounts:
    (a) Theresa Delaney's and Theresa Gowanlock's eyewitness accounts written in 1886, several months after the event ("Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear," in Stuart Hughes, *The Frog Lake "Massacre,"* pp. 178-81 and 222-26)
    (b) Louis Goulet's eyewitness account told to a friend about 1903 (Goulet, a Metis, had a reputation as a fine story teller. His account is recorded by Guillaume Charette in *Vanishing Spaces*, pp. 121-25.)
    (c) William Cameron's eyewitness account written in 1926 (This account was originally published as *The War Trail of Big Bear*, and a new edition was published in 1950 as *Blood Red the Sun* — see pages 47-52 of the latter edition; Cameron also gave an eyewitness account of the events to Major-General Strange and the press immediately after the rebellion, and gave part of the story in magazine articles in 1905 and 1920.)
    (d) Edward Ahenakew's account, based on his conversations with many Crees who had been present at the time. (This account was first published in 1951 but the author states that it was prepared many years before; see Edward Ahenakew, *Voices of the Plains Cree*, pp. 103-09, and Stuart Hughes, *The Frog Lake "Massacre,"* pp. 152-59. Ahenakew himself was a Cree and gives the Indians' point of view.)

    Once you have finished your account of the event, write several paragraphs describing the problems you faced as an historian. Which account did you find the most helpful? The least? Which "facts" did you decide not to use because you doubted their accuracy? Which facts did you select? Which facts did you ignore?

    You might now like to read several secondary accounts of the Frog Lake incident to see how professional historians have treated it.

    Howard Adams. *Prison of Grass*. pp. 84, 107-08.
    Peter Charlebois. *The Life of Louis Riel*. pp. 160-63.
    Joseph Howard. *Strange Empire*. pp. 409-13.
    George Stanley. *The Birth of Western Canada*. p. 339.

    Rate the accounts in order of their sympathy to the Indian point of view (most sympathetic to least sympathetic). Rate the accounts in order of interest (most interesting to least interesting). Be prepared to explain your rating order.

21. Many historians have developed philosophies or interpretations which they feel best explain historical events. Among these are Thomas Carlyle's "biographies of great men," Arnold Toynbee's "rise and fall of civilizations," François-Xavier Garneau's "struggle for survival" and Karl Marx' "oppressor versus oppressed." Select one of these philosophies of history and use it to interpret the major events of the Riel Rebellion. Illustrate your report with five primary source materials which illustrate the philosophy. (For a brief description of thirteen different philosophies see Charles Hou, *Let's Make Sense out of Canadian History*, B.C.T.F. Lesson Aid #2051, B.C. Teachers' Federation, Lesson Aids Service, #105—2235 Burrard Street, Vancouver, B.C., V6J 3H9.)

22. One of the most successful publicizers of the American West was Buffalo Bill (William F. Cody). Gabriel Dumont was one of the many western personalities who performed in his Wild West Show.

You are an entertainment promoter in 1886 who wishes to develop a Canadian equivalent of the Wild West Show. Draw up a proposal which will persuade Dumont to leave Buffalo Bill's show and start his own in Canada. Include a design for a poster advertising the show and a description of the people and acts you think should be included.

THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER,

TUESDAY, JUNE 8, 1886.

"THE WILD WEST."

Buffalo Bill Gives a Better Entertainment Than Ever.

"Don't call it a show; it isn't a show; call it an entertainment," said General Manager Burke yesterday. And he was right, in the strict sense of the words; the "Wild West" is not a show that has been rehearsed and prepared for; it is an exhibition of the genuine wild life now disappearing so rapidly from the Western plains and mountains. The performers are genuine cowboys, Mexican vaqueros and wild Indians, and they simply go through in mimic the same performances by which they have been making a livelihood for years.

Most of the acts given in the entertainment that was opened yesterday at the Gentlemen's Driving Park, Belmont, have been seen in previous visits of the company, but some are new, as are also most of the performers. There are races, feats of horsemanship and of marksmanship, riding bucking ponies, lassoing wild steers, a repetition of the famous duel between Buffalo Bill and the Indian chief Yellow Hand, the attack on the Deadwood coach and that on the settler's cabin, besides several others in the same line, the whole entertainment lasting about two hours.

The company numbers 240 people, and embraces the largest number of wild Indians ever seen in a civilized city at one time. It is stated that some of the very braves who now chase the old stagecoach around the track in mimic warfare have chased it in deadly earnest when it plied on the route through the Black Hills to the newly discovered gold diggings. Major Burke says the old Sioux chief, American Horse, who is in command of his portion of the band, grinned significantly when told that this was part of the programme.

The same old chief was much mortified last evening when told that he had made a bad blunder in a new part of the programme arranged by himself and given for the first time yesterday. It was the spectacle of a band of Indians traveling over the plains, pitching their tents and preparing the evening meal, then suddenly attacked and slain by a band of hostiles. American Horse led the traveling party, but was so anxious to make the performance a success that, as he said afterward, he forgot all about the presence of spectators, and rode straight to where the attacking party was concealed, in a distant corner, to see that they moved out promptly. This little mistake, however, did not prevent the rest of the company from going on with their part of the work, nor did it rob the fight which followed of its intense realism.

Among the noted characters in the company, besides the two proprietors, "Buffalo Bill" (Hon. Wm. F. Cody) and Nate Salsbury, the comedian, are Gabriel Dumont, Louis Riel's lieutenant in the Northwest Rebellion; Sergeant Bates, the famous flag carrier; Con. Groner, "the cow-boy Sheriff of the Platte;" Buck Taylor, "the King of the Cowboys;" Dick Johnson, "the Giant Cowboy;" Lillian Smith, "the champion girl rifle shot," and a wonderful shot she is. Annie Oakley, "the champion markswoman," and a host of others, equally noted at home, but as yet not so well known elsewhere.

The performance begins promptly at four o'clock every afternoon, and it is well to be a little early in getting there, for yesterday every seat appeared to be occupied when the grand entree was made.

AMUSEMENTS.

GENTLEMEN'S DRIVING PARK

COMMENCING

MONDAY, JUNE 7,

At 4 P. M. Afternoons only, rain or shine.

AMERICA'S NATIONAL ENTERTAINMENT.

Buffalo Bill's

Wild West

More General Features of Western Life than ever before at one time and place visible on the face of the Globe.

Gates open at 1 P. M.

Admission, 50c. Children, 25c.

Carriages admitted free.

Grand Free Street Parade Monday, June 7, at 10 A. M.

Pennsylvania Railroad will run trains out to the Grounds and return after the performance.

23. Organize a "Louis Riel Night," "Chief Poundmaker Night," "Samuel B. Steele Night," "Rebellion of 1885 Night," etc., at your school. You may wish to prepare the following: posters advertising the evening; an historical slide presentation; a slide or film presentation showing students re-enacting major events; a choral reading; skits involving major events and personalities; a debate; a presentation calling for the erection of a statue in your community or in one of the provinces; and a display of posters. You might also invite amateur or professional Indian dancers or square dancers to perform; experts on western Canadian history, literature or politics to speak; and members of the school board, your provincial M.L.A. or your member of parliament to attend. Have all of the students involved dress in late nineteenth century dress, and serve appropriate refreshments during the intermission.

24. If your school stages a retrial of Louis Riel, attend the trial as a reporter for the student newspaper or a local newspaper. Write an article describing the highlights of the trial. Photograph scenes from the trial or have another student take pictures for you.

25. If your school stages a retrial of Louis Riel, prepare a press release in which you describe the project and try to interest the media in it. Send your release to a local newspaper, radio or television station and encourage them to do a story before, during and after the trial. You might even persuade a reporter to sit on the jury.

26. Imagine that Macdonald decided to admit Assiniboia, Saskatchewan and Alberta into Confederation as provinces in 1885. Two students should represent each district and prepare a list of concessions they would like from Ottawa. These might include the number of seats each district would have in the House of Commons and in the Senate; provision for native land claims; protection for minorities; plans for railway expansion; control over natural resources; etc. A group of four to six students should prepare to represent the federal government, and the two groups should negotiate the terms of union.

27. Prepare a book report on one of the following biographies or autobiographies:
    Donald Barnett. *Poundmaker.*
    Hartwell Bowsfield. *Louis Riel: The Rebel and the Hero.*
    William B. Cameron. *Blood Red the Sun.*
    Maria Campbell. *Halfbreed.*
    Guillaume Charette. *Vanishing Spaces: Memoirs of Louis Goulet.*
    Colin Davies. *Louis Riel and the New Nation.*
    Captain Burton Deane. *Mounted Police Life in Canada.*
    Hugh A. Dempsey. *Crowfoot.*
    Carlotta Hacker. *Crowfoot.*
    Rosemary Neering. *Louis Riel.*
    Norma Sluman. *Poundmaker.*
    Samuel B. Steele. *Forty Years in Canada.*
    Robert Stewart. *Sam Steele: Lion of the Frontier.*
    Donald Swainson. *John A. Macdonald: The Man and the Politician.*
    George Woodcock. *Gabriel Dumont.*

The following headings and questions will help you focus on relevant information. Report on two of these:

(a) Time and place in which the subject lived. Identify the person studied as to when and where he or she lived.

(b) Major influences. "The childhood shows the man, as morning shows the day." (John Milton) Outline the subject's education, youth and first steps to prominence, and point out the major factors which shaped his or her life.

(c) Influence of other people. "It is always interesting in the case of a great man to know how he affected (and was affected by) the women of his acquaintance." (John Morley) How does this quotation apply to the person studied?

(d) Character and personality. Describe the character traits you most or least admire in the subject. How did he or she get along with other people? Would you like to have this person as a relative or friend?

(e) Significant achievements. Present a few of the subject's contributions. Which was his or her greatest accomplishment? What problems or difficulties did the person have to overcome? What qualities contributed to his or her success?

(f) Critical mistakes. Describe one or more incidents in the subject's life where you think he or she made a mistake. Why was it a mistake? What should the person have done?

(g) Potential as a film. Would this book make a good film? Describe what parts of the person's life you would select for the film.

(h) Interview. Select one major event or accomplishment in the subject's life. Imagine that you interviewed the subject at the time of the event, and write a newspaper article based on the interview.

28. Prepare a book report on an historical novel or play dealing with the rebellion:
    John Coulter. *Riel.*
    John Coulter. *The Crime of Louis Riel.*
    John Coulter. *The Trial of Louis Riel.*
    William T.Cult. *On the Trail of Long Tom.*
    John F. Haynes. *Flaming Prairie.*
    Rod Langley. *Tales of a Prairie Drifter.*
    Giles A. Lutz. *The Magnificent Failure.*
    James McNamee. *Them Damn Canadians Hanged Louis Riel.*
    Isabel Reekie. *Red Horse of the West.*
    Harwood Steele. *The Marching Call.*
    R.D. Symons. *Still the Wind Blows.*
    Rudy Wiebe. *The Scorched Earth People.*
    Rudy Wiebe. *The Temptations of Big Bear.*
    George Woodcock. *Gabriel Dumont: The Metis Chief and His Lost World.*
    Jan Truss. *A Very Small Rebellion.*

    Report of two of the following topics:

    (a) Describe the author's qualifications for writing the book.
    (b) Write an article giving your reaction to the book — what you liked or disliked about it; characters you enjoyed or disliked; incidents and scenes you found interesting or dull.
    (c) Give three or four illustrations to prove that the events and characters in the book are one of the following: (1) true to life (2) exaggerated or distorted (3) unbelievable.
    (d) Which character in the book would you like to have as a friend? Explain. Which one would you not care to have as a friend? Explain.
    (e) Describe the author's biases toward the historical events or problems which he or she describes. Give examples from the story to support your answer.
    (f) Prepare a map (or maps) showing all the important places mentioned in the story, and plot the movements of the main character. You may decide to illustrate the map.
    (g) What was the chief problem faced by the main character in the story? How was it solved?
    (h) "History comes most alive when it is written as fiction." Is this statement true as far as your book is concerned? Why or why not?

29. Prepare a report on one of the following books dealing with western Canada:
    Howard Adams. *Prison of Grass.*
    Daniel R. and Alda M. Anderson. *The Metis People of Canada: A History.*
    Ronald Atkin. *Maintain the Right.*
    Maria Campbell. *Riel's People.*
    Harold Cardinal. *The Unjust Society.*
    Sir Cecil E. Denny. *The Law Marches West.*
    John G. Donkin. *Trooper and Redskin.*
    Rev. R.G. MacBeth. *The Making of the Canadian West.*
    Edward McCourt. *Buckskin Brigadier.*
    Edward McCourt. *Revolt in the West.*
    Arlean McPherson. *The Battlefords: A History.*
    Nick and Helma Mika. *The Riel Rebellion 1885.*
    Desmond Morton. *The Last War Drum.*
    Bruce Peel. *Steamboats on the Saskatchewan.*
    George Stanley. *The Birth of Western Canada.*

Report on two of the following topics:

(a) Write several paragraphs aimed at persuading your classmates to either read or not read the book. (Refer to interest level of topics covered, use of illustrations, readablity, etc.)
(b) Select one section or aspect of the book that you think would be of interest to the whole class or which you most enjoyed (give page numbers of the section). Write a short essay summarizing why you picked that section.
(c) Why did you choose this book to read? Did it live up to your expectations? Explain.
(d) Compare and contrast the period of history described in the book with today's world. Are there any conditions or problems in the world today like those described in the book? Which sections of the book are least relevant to today's world?
(e) Pick several photographs, maps or quotations from the book which you found interesting. Include a copy of each one. Write a paragraph describing each.
(f) Why did the author write the book? (This is usually stated the the preface or first chapter.) Does the author achieve his or her objective?
(g) Design a cover (including front, back and spine) for a new edition of the book. Include the title and author and write a short article on the book and on the author.
(h) How have you benefited, or what have you learned, from the book?

IV. The Legal Method of Inquiry

A. A Description of the Approach

During a retrial of Louis Riel, students are involved in a wide variety of tasks as they try to establish what happened in the past and explain why it happened. This information, presented by student witnesses and lawyers as testimony at the retrial, is fundamental to the major task of judging Riel guilty or innocent. It is also the basis for consideration of the present-day question of a posthumous pardon for Riel.

In a retrial of Louis Riel many of the educational tasks become more interesting and relevant. Each student has a specific project to complete, and may wish to look for supplementary information in a variety of excellent books on the rebellion. He knows that there is a purpose behind his research and that he will use the information he finds in a dynamic way.

The student will also learn to use primary sources of information properly. Many of the witnesses will be responsible for one or more documents, drawings, photographs or maps, etc., and the lawyers will introduce these sources as exhibits in order to make a point or provide a description of an event. Biased materials are used so that the students will have to evaluate and interpret them, and the lawyers for the opposing side may object to misleading interpretations.

Riel was one of the most complex figures in Canadian history and a strong case can be built for or against his conviction. The outcome of the retrial depends on the strength of the testimony given by the witnesses, the quality of the lawyers' cases and summations, and the mood of the jury, and each student plays a vital part in its overall success.

In conducting a retrial of Louis Riel the student is required to use techniques very similar to those used in the historical method of inquiry. Legal processes, though, have their own conventions, and a brief discussion of these is warranted (see figure 3). The teacher should explain this procedure to the students before the trial is undertaken.

Unlike the historian, who may select at will a problem for study, a criminal lawyer is appointed by the Crown to prosecute the accused or hired on behalf of the accused to defend him. He or she starts with a definite and clear purpose — to prove the accused guilty or not guilty — and after a brief investigation, forms a tentative plan of action.

Like the historian, once the lawyer has accepted a case he attempts to collect all of the available relevant information. He relies on the same sources of information as the historian — physical remains, verbal reports, and written documents. He may visit the site where the event under investigation took place and may use any relevant physical remains in his reconstruction of the event. As the matter the lawyer is investigating is usually fairly recent, he may place a greater emphasis on verbal reports. Like the historian, though, he favours first-hand information over that obtained from secondary sources, and therefore seeks

eyewitness rather than hearsay accounts. He also seeks to corroborate his information by obtaining as much of it as possible from a variety of sources, and evaluates it by applying the tests of external and internal criticism. His original views on the case may well change as a result of his investigation of it, and he will have to re-draw his plan of attack accordingly. The values, biases, prejudices and philosophy of justice of the lawyer will naturally influence the course he will follow.

While the historian's aim is to develop a hypothesis and convince himself that it is valid, the lawyer's goal is to develop a line of argument which will convince a jury to convict or acquit the accused. He selects accordingly the information he will present and the witnesses he will call to support his case. By careful questioning of his witnesses in the courtroom he draws from them only the evidence he wishes the jury to hear. Cross-examination of his witnesses by the opposing counsel may well cast doubt upon the credibility of his witnesses or draw from them information he would rather the jury did not hear. If the weight of evidence is clearly against his client, he may attempt to argue extenuating circumstances or have the case thrown out of court on a technicality.

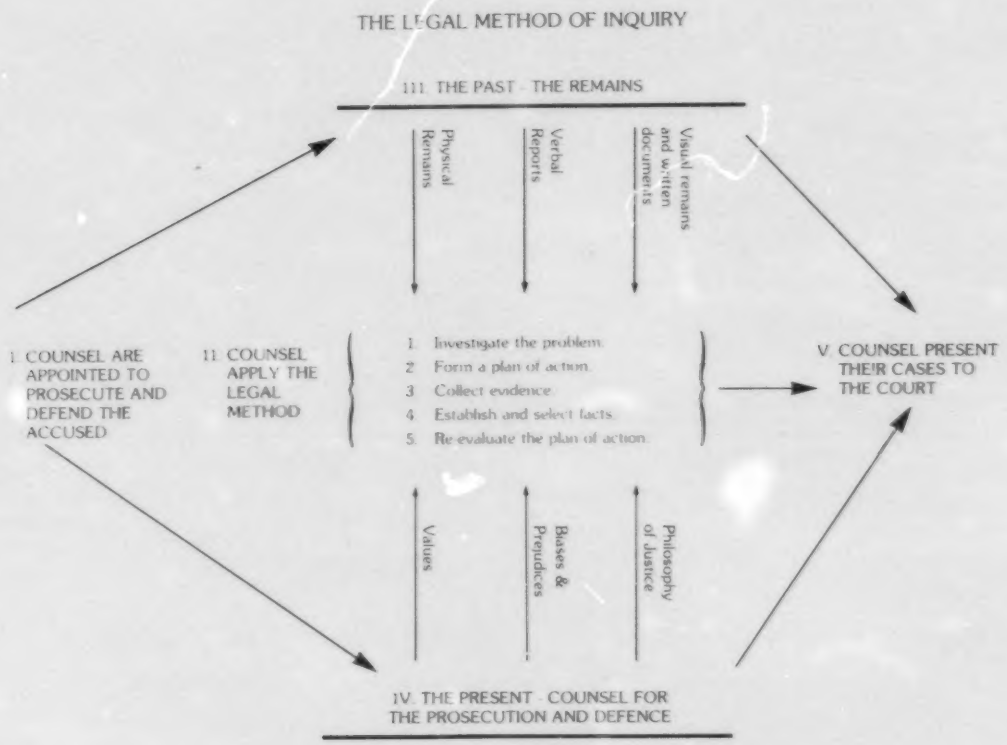
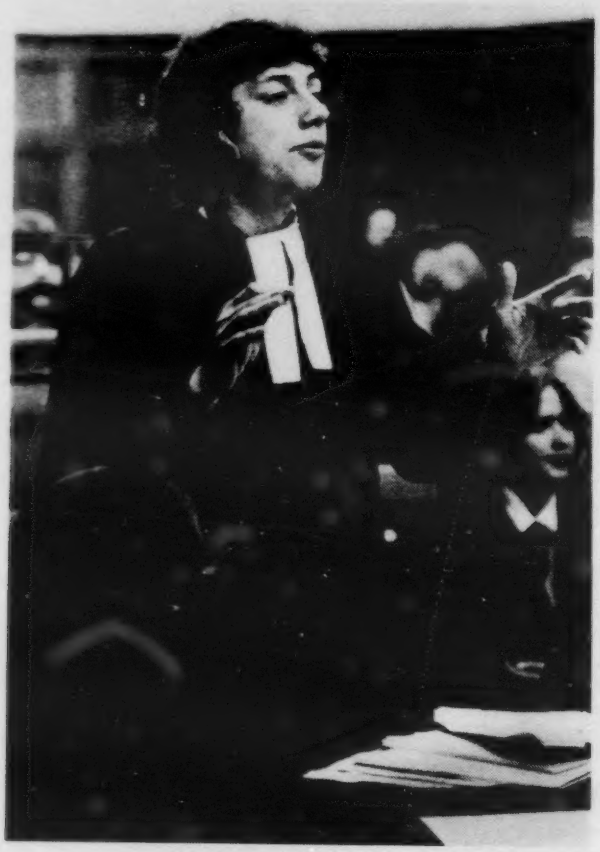

THE LEGAL METHOD OF INQUIRY
III. THE PAST - THE REMAINS
Physical Remains
Verbal Reports
Visual remains and written documents
I. COUNSEL ARE APPOINTED TO PROSECUTE AND DEFEND THE ACCUSED
II. COUNSEL APPLY THE LEGAL METHOD
1. Investigate the problem.
2. Form a plan of action.
3. Collect evidence.
4. Establish and select facts.
5. Re-evaluate the plan of action.
V. COUNSEL PRESENT THEIR CASES TO THE COURT
Values
Biases & Prejudices
Philosophy of Justice
IV. THE PRESENT - COUNSEL FOR THE PROSECUTION AND DEFENCE

Figure 3.

The historian presents the results of his investigation as a *fait accompli* to be judged by the student of history and by other historians. In contrast, the legal process takes place in the public eye. Testimony is presented in front of a judge, jury, opposing counsel, the public gallery and the press, and the spectators hear the final summary or interpretation of the proceedings by both counsel. During the trial the judge rules on procedure and informs the jury of the law. In the end it is up to the jury to deliberate on the evidence presented and decide on the guilt or innocence of the accused. Although the jury and judge are ideally impartial, their values, biases, prejudices and general attitude naturally affect the way in which they see the case and the decisions they ultimately make.

As in the historical approach to *The Riel Rebellion*, the legal approach involves the student in practising a wide variety of skills. Staging a retrial of Riel also involves the student in learning how one facet of our legal system operates, and although the procedure involved is reasonably complex, it is well within the grasp of secondary students.



Counsel for the defence addresses the court at the student retrial.

B. A Retrial of Louis Riel

1. Methodology

Phase 1

It will be necessary to give the students an overview of the Rebellion of 1885 before they are assigned or allowed to select their roles. This can easily be done by reading Chapter 1 and the introductions to Chapters 2 to 6 in *The Riel Rebellion*. It would also be advantageous for the students to visit a local courtroom to observe a jury trial.

Phase 2

Students should then be divided into three groups: those conducting the retrial, those acting as witnesses for the prosecution, and those acting as witnesses for the defence.

The students involved in conducting the retrial are responsible for selecting the defendant (playing the part of Louis Riel), a judge, clerk and sheriff, and for providing teams of two or more lawyers to prosecute and defend Riel. The most promising students should be encouraged to take the parts of the lawyers as their responsibilities are greater than those of any of the witnesses; the number on each team may vary according to the number of students available. This group will also have to provide a jury, the size of which may depend on the number of students available.

The judge, clerk, sheriff, lawyers and jury members should familiarize themselves with their duties by reading the sections of this manual devoted to their roles and to trial procedure. Each lawyer will have to determine which witnesses he or she will be examining or cross-examining and thoroughly familiarize himself with the life of each (see the student assignment). A general description of prosecution and defence strategies is given in the student assignment, and specific strategies for each witness are given in section 7. The student role-playing Louis Riel can prepare himself for his speech to the jury by reading chapter 1 of *The Riel Rebellion*, the Riel biography in chapter 2, and pages 311-325 and 350-371 of the transcript of the original trial (Desmond Morton, *The Queen v Louis Riel).*

The students acting as witnesses for the prosecution and defence of Louis Riel should select their roles. Each student can decide which individual he or she wishes to role-play by reading the brief introduction at the beginning of each chapter of *The Riel Rebellion;* these summarize the events in each chapter and outline the characters involved. The teacher should assist students in picking roles suiting their personalities and capabilities. The classification of witnesses into categories of short, average and involved testimony may be helpful (see section 4). Each student should thoroughly familiarize himself with the life and personality of the person he will be portraying (see the student assignment).

There may be more potential witnesses than can be handled by one class. In order to increase the number of witnesses involved, the teacher may wish to combine his or her class with another, "borrow" a number of students interested in an enrichment assignment, or assign more than one role to a good student. It is also possible to reduce the number of witnesses called or even to limit the trial to one or more aspects of the rebellion.

Phase 3

Once the students have researched the lives of their witnesses and completed their assignments, they are ready to prepare for the retrial. The lawyers should meet with the winesses they will be examining or cross-examining to discuss the questions and questioning strategies they will be using. The lawyers and witnesses should then practise their questioning and testimony together.

The witnesses may wish to prepare costumes and decide on make-up (possibly including a beard or sideburns) to suit the characters they will be role-playing. The lawyers may wish to borrow or rent black choir or graduation gowns and make white dickies to go with them.

Phase 4

The trial procedure should be reviewed by all of the students, and the date and place for the retrial confirmed. If you have an enthusiastic group of students, and if the court administration is agreeable, you might wish to consider the evening use of a public courtroom. The use of a courtroom and the possibility of parents or friends observing the proceedings will add to the students' interest. Parents can also be asked to serve as members of the jury.

Father Alexis André gives his testimony.

2. *Student Assignment*

A. Students acting as witnesses at the retrial

1. You should thoroughly familiarize yourself with the life and personality of the person you will be portraying by reading the summary of his or her life in *The Riel Rebellion*. You should also study any document, drawing, photograph or map, etc., associated with that person as these may be introduced at the trial as evidence.

2. Prepare ten to twenty questions that the prosecution and defence lawyers might ask you, and briefly outline the answers you would give to each. The questions should follow a logical line of reasoning designed to reveal your most damaging or most supportive testimony. One or more questions should involve reference to any exhibits the lawyers might present as evidence or show to help the jury understand your testimony.

3. Write a short paragraph suggesting the attitude and mannerisms which might indicate the personality of your witness. On the day of the retrial you will be expected to role-play this person.

B. Students acting as lawyers at the retrial

1. The teams of prosecution and defence lawyers should find out which of the possible witnesses will be giving testimony, and meet to determine which witnesses each will be examining or cross-examining. You should thoroughly familiarize yourself with the roles of these witnesses in the rebellion by reading the summaries of their lives in *The Riel Rebellion*. You should also study any document, drawing, photograph or map, etc., associated with each person as these might be introduced at the trial as evidence. You may also wish to read the supplementary material suggested in the prosecution and defence strategies for each witness.

2. Keeping in mind your prosecution or defence strategy, prepare ten to twenty questions to ask each witness, and briefly outline the answers you would expect for each. The questions should follow a logical line of reasoning designed to bring out the most damaging or most supportive testimony. One or more questions should involve reference to any exhibits that you decide to present as evidence or show to help the jury understand the witness' testimony. It is not always necessary to cross-examine a witness for the other side. If you do, be sure that your questions have a purpose and that they won't bring out anything that will damage your case.

3. The chief Crown and defence lawyers should also prepare brief opening statements (outlining their main arguments and how they will be proved) and closing statements (summarizing the evidence presented and attempting to undermine the case presented by the other side).

Prosecution Strategy

The job of the lawyers for the prosecution (the Crown counsel) is to show that Louis Riel personally committed treasonable acts at Duck Lake, Fish Creek, and Batoche; that he conspired with Chief Big Bear to commit treason, resulting in the use of violence at Frog Lake, Fort Pitt, Red Deer Creek and Loon Lake; and that he conspired with Chief Poundmaker to commit treason, resulting in the use of force or violence at Battleford and Cut Knife Hill. The burden of proof rests on you, and in order to gain a conviction you must show beyond a reasonable doubt that Riel was in fact guilty.

In your questioning of the witnesses you should bring out details of the extensive suffering, loss of life and damage to property caused by the rebellion, show that Riel had overall responsibility for the uprising, and convince the jury that he must be punished for his treasonable acts. You should demonstrate that the rebellion was completely unjustified — the Metis grievances were relatively minor, and in any case the government had already responded (or was about to respond) to their complaints. Riel used these grievances to provoke an uprising in order to advance his private interests. If the defence tries to prove that Riel was insane at the time of the rebellion, you should do everything possible to prove that he was sane and accountable for his acts.

Defence Strategy

The job of the lawyers for the defence (the defence counsel) is to show that Louis Riel did not commit treasonable acts. You might argue along the following lines:

> The people of the North West had many grievances. Prior to the rebellion they had exhausted every legal method of protest available to them, without success. Riel returned to the North West at their request and sent one last, major petition to the government on their behalf. The government was thus well aware of the problems facing the people; by failing again to take significant action they forced the Metis and Indians to rebel.
>
> Riel did not intend to overthrow the government of Canada. He simply wished to improve conditions for the people in the North West. When he saw that stronger methods of protest were needed, he planned to repeat the nearly bloodless tactics he had used in the Red River area in 1869-70. That is, he planned to set up a provisional government, seize arms and supplies, take hostages, and negotiate a settlement with Ottawa. Even at Duck Lake, his followers fought only after the police had fired the first shot. The battles of Duck Lake, Fish Creek and Batoche, and those which involved the Indians, were uprisings of a local nature and did not amount to acts of treason. Riel himself did everything he could to reduce the bloodshed involved and he encouraged Chiefs Big Bear and Poundmaker to do the same.

Many people felt that Riel was insane at the time of the rebellion and hence not accountable for his acts. Riel objected strongly to this argument at his trial in 1885.

3. *The Roles of the Major Participants in a Criminal Jury Trial.*

The Role of the Judge

A judge of the Supreme Court is referred to as Mr. or Madam Justice _____ . He or she is addressed in court as "My Lord" or "My Lady." As the presiding officer of the court, the judge supervises the trying of a case and makes sure that the accused gets a fair trial. He must ensure that both sides have a chance to present all their factual evidence and arguments, and that all unreliable opinions or statements are excluded from consideration by the jury.

The basic rules of evidence are as follows:

Admissible Evidence

1. verbal reports (testimony given by a witness under oath)
2. written records (e.g. diaries, letters, dispatches, petitions)
3. visual representations (e.g. paintings, photographs, maps)
4. physical remains (e.g. weapons, stolen property, clothing)
5. circumstantial evidence (e.g. when goods are stolen and later found in the possession of a suspect).

Inadmissible Evidence

1. hearsay evidence (evidence based on something the witness has heard someone else say, e.g. gossip or rumour); a witness can testify only about something he or she has seen or experienced
2. prejudiced or biased opinions
3. personal opinion (unless the witness is an expert on a particular subject)
4. irrelevant statements
5. illegally obtained evidence (e.g. an induced confession).

The judge must also rule on such matters as leading questions. Leading questions are questions asked in such a way as to suggest a particular answer. They are not permitted in direct examination. For example:

incorrect	**correct**
Were you at Duck Lake on March 26?	Where were you on March 26?
Did you see Louis Riel order his men to fire on the police at Duck Lake?	Who appeared to be leading the Metis at Duck Lake?

Leading questions are permitted in cross-examination. A lawyer may ask such questions in order to show up any errors or contradictions in a witness' testimony.

The judge also instructs the jury on points of law which relate to the case at hand. If the jury finds the accused guilty, the judge passes the sentence of the court upon him or her.

If the student judge needs help or advice during the trial, he or she may ask the teacher to approach the bench for a conference. If the lawyers get out of hand, he may ask them to approach the bench.

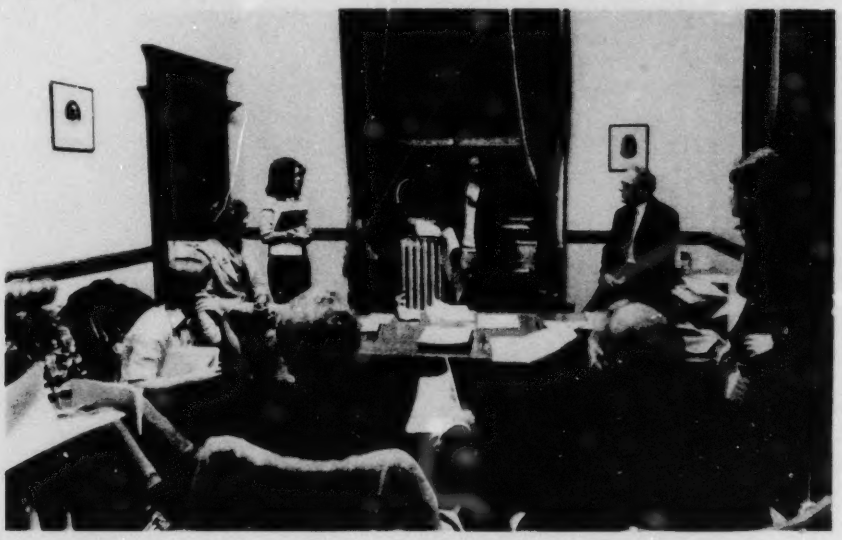
The Role of the Jury

The members of the jury listen to the evidence presented to them and make a decision as to the guilt or innocence of the accused. They must decide which pieces of the admissible evidence can be believed and which are more important than others; they must then determine if the weight of the evidence is enough to find the accused guilty beyond a reasonable doubt.

The members of the jury should not allow themselves to be influenced in a case by anything other than the evidence presented to them in court. They should therefore not expose themselves to newspaper, radio or television accounts of the case or discuss it with anyone outside the court.

The foreman of the jury announces the verdict to the court. In a criminal trial the verdict of the jury must be unanimous. If even one member disagrees with the others the jury is "hung" and the judge may call for a retrial with a new jury or adjourn the trial. In a mock trial a majority decision is acceptable.

Members of the student jury may wish to make notes during the trial. This is not always permitted during an actual trial.



The jury deliberates.

The Role of the Clerk of the Court

The clerk of the court is addressed as "Mr. Registrar" or "Madam Registrar." The clerk plays an important role in the court, and the dignity with which he or she acts enhances the dignity of the court. When addressing jurors, the accused, witnesses, etc., or when calling to order or adjourning the court, "the Clerk issues a command with the full authority of the Court and must speak clearly, distinctly, audibly and with a tone of authority."

The clerk announces the name of the trial and reads the indictment to the accused.

Louis Riel listens to the indictment.

The clerk administers an oath or affirmation to each witness. If a witness is recalled to the stand later in the trial, or when the court resumes after a recess, the clerk reminds the witness that he or she is still under oath.

The clerk keeps accurate, legible and complete minutes of the proceedings. (The court stenographer is responsible for keeping a word for word account.)

The clerk accepts and stamps all courtroom exhibits and is responsible for them.

When a recess is called, and at the conclusion of the trial, the clerk announces "Order in Court." After the judge has left the courtroom with the sheriff, the clerk announces the length of the recess or states that the court stands adjourned.

The clerk also acts as the judge's liaison with counsel and others, and is responsible for supplies and equipment needed during the trial.

The Role of the Crown and Defence Counsel

The word "counsel" refers to a lawyer or a group of lawyers who conduct a case in court. Each refers to the opposing counsel in court as "my friend" or "my learned friend."

The Crown counsel represents society as a whole and prosecutes or conducts the case against the accused in the name of the King or Queen. The Crown must establish all elements of the offence; this involves drawing up a list of facts which must be proven by the evidence in order for the accused to be found guilty. The Crown counsel calls and examines witnesses

The Crown counsel questions a witness.

to testify against the accused, and cross-examines witnesses called by the defence in an attempt to cast doubt upon their reliability or testimony. During cross-examination of his or her own witnesses by the defence, he or she must protect them from improper questioning. The burden of proof in the case rests on the Crown counsel, who must show the accused to be guilty beyond a reasonable doubt.

The defence counsel represents the accused and must strive to protect his or her rights, even if he or she considers the accused to be guilty. The defence counsel calls and examines witnesses to testify on behalf of the accused, cross-examines witnesses called by the Crown, and protects his own witnesses during cross-examination by the Crown. The defence counsel must attempt to undermine the case presented by the Crown and show the accused to be innocent, or at least that there is some doubt as to his guilt.

The Role of the Sheriff and Deputy Sheriffs

The sheriff provides the judge and the clerk with a list of potential jurors, generally taken from the provincial voters' list.

The sheriff escorts the judge from the time the latter leaves his or her chambers for the courtroom until he or she returns after court. When the judge comes to the courtroom at the beginning of the trial or after a recess, the sheriff opens the courtroom door and enters first. As soon as he or she is in the courtroom, he steps aside and announces clearly and distinctly "Order in Court." All persons in the courtroom should stand while the judge enters and takes his place on the bench.

The sheriff makes the opening statement on the first day of the Assize, or periodic court session, and the closing statement on the last day.

A deputy sheriff escorts the accused to the prisoner's box a few minutes before the trial commences and sits beside the dock while court is in session. Another deputy sheriff escorts and is responsible for the jury.

THE COURTROOM

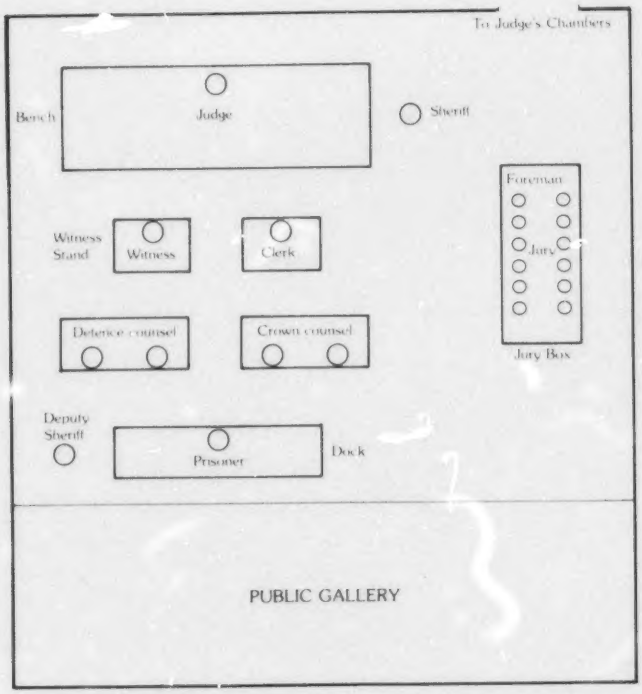


Figure 4.

4. *Suggested Order for the Retrial of Louis Riel*

A. Opening the Trial

1. The entry of the judge
2. The opening statement
3. The entry of the prisoner

B. Taking Pleas

1. The introduction of counsel
2. The reading of the indictment
3. The plea of the prisoner

C. Empanelling the Jury

1. The selection and swearing-in of the jury
2. Putting the jury in charge

D. The Case for the Crown

1. The opening statement by Crown counsel
2. Prosecution witnesses:

The Battle of Duck Lake
Superintendent Leif Crozier (3)*

The "seige" of Battleford and the Battle of Cut Knife Hill
Effie Laurie (2)
Lieutenant-Colonel William Otter (3)

The killings at Frog Lake, the siege and capture of Fort Pitt, the Battle of Red Deer Creek and the skirmish at Loon Lake
Theresa Delaney (1)
Elizabeth McLean (1)
Major Samuel Steele (2)

The Battles of Fish Creek and Batoche
Major-General Frederick Middleton (3)
Captain Arthur Howard (1)

Louis Riel's Personality
Charles Nolin (3)

*(1) short testimony (2) average testimony (3) involved testimony

E. The Case for the Defence

1. The opening statement by defence counsel
2. Defence witnesses:

The government fails to respond to peaceful agitation
Sir John A. Macdonald (2)
Chief Crowfoot (2)

Louis Riel is asked to help the Metis
William Jackson (2)
Marguerite Riel (1)

The "siege" of Battleford and the Battle of Cut Knife Hill
Chief Poundmaker (3)
Robert Jefferson (2)

The killings at Frog Lake, the siege and capture of Fort Pitt, the Battle of Red Deer Creek and the skirmish at Loon Lake
Wandering Spirit (2)

The Battles of Duck Lake, Fish Creek and Batoche
Gabriel Dumont (3)
Madeleine Dumont (1)

Louis Riel's personality
Evelina Barnabé (1)
Father Alexis André (3)

F. Summations by Counsel

1. Defence counsel and the prisoner
2. Crown counsel

G. The Verdict

1. The judge's charge to the jury
2. The retirement of the jury
3. The announcement of the verdict

H. The Sentence

I. Closing the Trial

1. The closing statement
2. The exit of the judge.

5. *Trial Procedure*

The following is a simplified version of current procedure for criminal jury trials. The prisoner is being tried on a charge of treason rather than on the original charge of high treason. This allows the introduction of evidence regarding conspiracy to commit treason.

The judge's charge to the jury and the judge's address to the prisoner at the time of sentencing are based on the transcript of the original trial.

A glossary for the retrial is given in section 6.

A. *Opening the Trial*

The sheriff opens the courtroom door, enters, steps aside and announces: "Order in Court."

All persons in the courtroom stand while the judge enters and takes his or her place on the bench.

On the opening day of the Assize the sheriff says: "Oyez! Oyez! Oyez! All persons having business to transact in Her Majesty's Court of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery holden at _____ (city), in the County of _____, draw near, answer to your names when called, and you shall be heard. God Save the Queen (or God Save the King)."

The clerk asks the judge if he or she is ready to proceed, then announces: "Her Majesty the Queen (or His Majesty the King) against Louis Riel."

On subsequent days of the trial, after the judge has been seated, the clerk commences proceedings by saying: "Supreme Court of _____ (province), Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery, _____ day of _____, 19 _____. Her Majesty the Queen against Louis Riel. At bar."

The judge then directs the sheriff to bring in the prisoner, who is placed in the dock.

B. *Taking Pleas*

The counsel identify themselves as follows: "My Lord (or My Lady), my name is _____, Crown counsel. I am assisted by _____, _____, and _____." "My Lord, I am _____, defence counsel, and I am assisted by _____; _____ and _____."

After being directed by the judge to proceed, the clerk asks the prisoner to stand and reads the indictment in a loud, clear monotone: "Before me, _____ (name of judge), a Justice of the Supreme Court of _____ (province), exercising criminal

jurisdiction under the provisions of the Criminal Code of Canada, Louis Riel, you stand charged on oath as follows:

1. that you used violence for the purpose of overthrowing the government of Canada at:

   (a) Duck Lake on March 26, 1885
   (b) Fish Creek on April 24, 1885
   (c) Batoche on May 9, 10, 11 and 12, 1885

2. that you conspired with Chief Big Bear to commit treason, resulting in the use of violence, at:

   (a) Frog Lake on April 2, 1885
   (b) Fort Pitt on April 13 to 15, 1885
   (c) Red Deer Creek on May 28, 1885
   (d) Loon Lake on June 3, 1885

3. that you conspired with Chief Poundmaker to commit treason, resulting in the use of force or violence at:

   (a) Battleford from March 30 to April 24, 1885
   (b) Cut Knife Hill on May 2, 1885.

"Louis Riel, having heard the charge read, how do you plead: guilty or not guilty?"

The clerk turns to the judge and repeats the plea of the prisoner, saying: "The prisoner, Louis Riel, pleads not guilty, My Lord."

He then directs the prisoner to sit down.

C. *Empanelling the Jury*

After saying: "Shall I proceed to call the jury, My Lord?" the clerk accepts from the sheriff a box containing numbered cards on which are written the names of members of the jury panel (in this case, volunteers).

The clerk says: "Members of the jury, answer to your names when called and come forward please."

He or she shakes the box to mix the cards, withdraws them one at a time and reads the number and name on each. The potential jurors come forward as their names are called and line up as directed by the sheriff.

When fifteen to twenty have been called, the clerk reads the number and name of each in the order in which they were called, and waits after each name for first the defence counsel and then the Crown counsel to say "challenge" or "content."

If a potential juror is challenged by either side he or she returns to his seat. (In actual practice the number of "peremptory challenges" allowed, for which no reason need be given, varies with the nature of the case. Both the Crown and defence are entitled

to any number of challenges "for cause"; that is, for certain defined reasons. The Crown is also allowed to "stand aside" or temporarily eliminate a certain number of potential jurors. In this simplified procedure, it is not advisable to have too many challenges.)

If a potential juror is acceptable to both sides the sheriff hands him the Bible. As he holds it in his right hand, the clerk administers the oath to him: "Do you swear that you shall well and truly try and true deliverance make, between Our Sovereign Lady the Queen and the prisoner at the bar, whom you shall have in charge, and a true verdict give, according to the evidence, so help you God? . . . Please state your full name."

If the proposed juror refuses or is unwilling to take the oath, the judge directs the clerk to affirm the juror as follows: "Please raise your right hand and repeat after me: 'I solemnly affirm that I shall well and truly try and true deliverance make, between Our Sovereign Lady the Queen and the prisoner at the bar, and a true verdict give, according to the evidence.' . . . Please state your full name."

When the twelve jurors have been chosen they leave the courtroom briefly and elect one of their members as foreman. On their return they are seated in the jury box with the foreman in the front row, nearest the judge.

(If time is short it is suggested that the jury and foreman be chosen ahead of time and that the oath or affirmation be administered to the jury as a group while they stand in the jury box.)

The clerk then addresses the jury in the following manner: "Members of the jury, you have heard the charges against the prisoner, Louis Riel. Upon these charges he has been arraigned and upon his arraignment has pleaded not guilty to each charge and for his trial has put himself upon his country, which country you are. Your charge therefore is to enquire whether he is guilty of the offences, or any of them, whereof he stands charged, or not guilty, and to hearken to the evidence."

D. The Case for the Crown

The judge says: "Does the Crown counsel wish to make an opening statement?"

The Crown counsel starts by saying: "My Lord (or My Lady), members of the jury," and makes an opening statement in which he or she briefly establishes the Crown's main arguments and outlines how they will be proved.

The judge then says: "Will the Crown please summon its witnesses."

The Crown counsel says: "My Lord, the Crown wishes to call _____ to the witness stand."

As each witness is called the clerk administers the oath to the witness: "Do you swear that the evidence you shall give to the Court and jury sworn, between our Sovereign Lady the Queen and the prisoner at the bar, shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?' . . . please state your full name."

If the witness refuses or is unwilliing to take the oath, the judge directs the clerk to affirm the witness as follows: "Please raise your right hand and repeat after me: 'I solemnly affirm that the evidence I shall give to the Court and jury sworn, between Our Sovereign Lady the Queen and the prisoner at the bar, shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.' . . . please state your full name."

If a witness leaves the stand for a recess, the clerk reminds the witness that he or she is still under oath and is not permitted to discuss testimony with anyone during the break. If a witness returns to the stand after a recess of more than a few minutes, or is recalled later in the trial, the clerk reminds him: "Witness, do you realize that you are still under oath?"

After examining the witness, the Crown counsel says: "No further question, My Lord."

The defence counsels says: "No questions, My Lord," or proceeds to cross-examine, and ends with: "No further questions, My Lord."

The Crown counsel can at this point re-examine a witness on any questions that were asked in his own examination or in the defence counsel's cross-examination.

A lawyer can object to the method of questioning used by the opposing counsel by saying: "Objection, My Lord" and giving the reason for his objection. Grounds for objection include the introduction of inadmissible evidence, the harassment of a witness, or the asking of leading questions during direct examination. (Leading questions are allowed in cross-examination.) If the judge agrees with the objecting lawyer he states: "Objection sustained," and if he disagrees he states: "Objection overruled."

When counsel are finished with a witness the judge says: "You may step down."

Exhibits may be introduced by counsel during the examination of a witness. Sample questions which may be asked are: "Can you identify this photograph? What does it show?" or "You have before you a document. Do you recognize it? When did you first see it? Please summarize its contents." or "Please identify this map. Does it accurately represent the area? Would you please tell us what happened."

The counsel then states: "I would like to enter this photograph (document, map) as an exhibit." He then hands it to the clerk, who stamps and numbers it.

A counsel can ask for a recess during the trial. The clerk calls: "Order in Court" and all persons in the courtroom stand while the sheriff escorts the judge from the courtroom. The clerk then announces the length of the recess. When the judge returns to the courtroom after the recess the sheriff calls: "Order in Court" and the judge enters as at the opening of the trial.

When the Crown has called all of its witnesses, counsel says: "That is the case for the Crown, My Lord."

E. The Case for the Defence

When the Crown has rested its case, the defence counsel makes an opening statement and proceeds to call witnesses. Defence witnesses may be cross-examined by

the Crown counsel and the defence has the right to re-examine a witness.

When the defence has called all of its witnesses, counsel says: "That is the case for the defence, My Lord."

F. Summations by Counsel

The judge says: "If you are ready, Mr. (or Ms.) _____ , we will begin the summations." Counsel says: "Thank-you, My Lord" and begins to speak. If the defence does not call evidence the Crown addresses the jury first. If the defence does call evidence, as in the present case, the defence addresses the jury first. Each side recapitulates the evidence it has presented to support its case, and tries to undermine the case presented by the other side. The prisoner, Louis Riel, may be allowed to address the Court at this point.

G. The Verdict

The judge addresses the jury as follows: "Members of the jury, this is an important case and one which will require your very serious consideration. The duties of the prosecution and defence lawyers are ended. They have called their witnesses, and you have heard what the witnesses have had to say; in addition you have heard what the accused has had to say.

"The remainder of the case rests with yourselves and with me. My duty is to show you what the law is and then leave the determination upon the evidence to you.

"Now the charge against the prisoner is a very serious one. It is the charge of treason. Let me refresh your memory as to what treason is.

"Everyone commits treason who, in Canada, uses force or violence for the purpose of overthrowing the government of Canada or a province, or conspires with any person to do so. There must be a revolt against established authority; force must be used; and the object must be of a general nature rather than of a private or local nature.

"In order for you to find the accused guilty of committing treason, you must be satisfied that the Crown presented enough evidence to prove the accused guilty of using violence for the purpose of overthrowing the government of Canada at Duck Lake, Fish Creek, or Batoche and/or having conspired with Big Bear and Poundmaker to commit treason, resulting in the use of force or violence at Frog Lake, Fort Pitt, Red Deer Creek, Loon Lake, Battleford or Cut Knife Hill. If this has not been proved beyond a reasonable doubt, he should be acquitted. If you find that the accused has engaged in the acts charged against him, then you will have most seriously to consider the question of whether or not he is answerable for his actions, that is, whether he was sane or insane at the time they were committed.

"The law directs me to tell you that every man or woman is presumed to be sane and to possess a sufficient degree of reason to be responsible for his or her crimes until the contrary is proved. To establish a defence on the grounds of insanity it must be clearly proved that at the time he committed the act, the party accused was labouring

under such delusions as not to know the nature of the act he was committing, or that if he did know it, that he did not know that he was doing wrong. That I propound to you as the law.

"On you rests the responsiblity of pronouncing upon the guilt or innocence of the prisoner at the bar. You must think not only of the man in the dock, but also of society as a whole. You are not called upon to think of the government at Ottawa simply as a government, but to think of the people who live in this country and of their homes, and to ask yourselves, 'Can such things be permitted?' We have the law given to us and we are called upon to administer it. Therefore, please deliberate and return to the courtroom with your verdict."

After the judge directs the jury to retire from the courtroom to consider its verdict, the clerk calls: "Order in Court" and all present stand while the sheriff escorts the judge from the courtroom.

The clerk then announces: "This Court stands adjourned until the jury returns."

When the jury has returned and the judge has entered in the usual manner and is seated, the clerk says: "Members of the jury, have you reached a verdict?"

The foreman stands and says: "We have My Lord (or My Lady)."

The clerk then asks: "Mr. Foreman (or Madam Foreman), what is your verdict?"

The foreman states the verdict and the clerk says: "Members of the jury, hearken to your verdict as the Court doth record it. You find the prisoner, Louis Riel, _____ and you also recommend _____ (if there is a recommendation made). This is your verdict, so say you all? Please stand to confirm your verdict."

The members of the jury stand briefly.

H. The Sentence

The judge says: "Louis Riel, please stand."

If the verdict was "not guilty" the judge says: "Louis Riel, you have been found not guilty. The court stands adjourned."

If the verdict was "not guilty on the grounds of insanity" the judge says: "Louis Riel, you have been found not guilty on the grounds of insanity. You will be committed for psychiatric treatment until you have recovered from your illness. The Court stands adjourned."

If the verdict was "guilty" the judge says: "Louis Riel, a jury having found you guilty, I ask you now, have you anything to say before sentence is passed upon you?"

Riel states: "Yes, My Lord (or My Lady)" and proceeds to speak, or "No, My Lord."

The judge then says: "Louis Riel, you have been found guilty of treason. You have been proved to have let loose the flood gates of rapine and bloodshed; you have, with such assistance as you had in the Saskatchewan country, managed to arouse

the Indians and have brought ruin and misery to many families who were living in comfort.

"For what you have done the law requires you to answer. I have only one more duty to perform — to tell you what the sentence of the law is upon you, and that is that you shall be taken now from here to _____ to serve a life sentence effective as of today.* The Court stands adjourned."

I. Closing the Trial

The sheriff closes by saying: "Oyez! Oyez! Oyez! By command of the Presiding Judge of this Court of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery, the Court having disposed of all the business brought before it, I now declare the sitting of the Court duly closed. God Save the Queen."

The clerk then calls: "Order in Court" and all present stand while the sheriff escorts the judge from the courtroom.

A light moment in the retrial.

* In 1885 the only punishment for high treason was death; today it is life imprisonment.

6. *Glossary for the Retrial of Louis Riel*

Accused. A person against whom a charge of crime is brought, known also as the prisoner.

Acquit. To declare an accused person "not guilty."

Adjourn. To suspend the hearing of a case until a future time.

Admissible Evidence. Evidence which can be admitted or received.

Affirmation. A solemn declaration given by a person who has a conscientious objection to taking an oath.

Arraign. To bring a person accused of a crime before a judge to hear the charges against him and to enter a plea of "guilty" or "not guilty."

Assize. A periodic court session.

Bar. The place in a courtroom where the accused stands to be tried or where counsel stand to speak.

Bench. The place where the judge sits in a courtroom; the judge or judges collectively.

Beyond a reasonable doubt. The degree of proof required for a jury to be satisfied that the person accused of a crime is guilty — that is, close to one hundred percent.

Case. A matter being examined in court; the argument presented by each side.

Challenge. To eliminate a potential juror, either for a specific reason (a challenge "for cause") or without stating a reason (a "peremptory challenge").

Chambers. The judge's private office, usually adjoining a courtroom.

Charge. The judge's final summary of a case and instructions to the jury before they retire to consider their verdict.

Circumstantial Evidence. Evidence from which a fact may reasonably be inferred even though the fact is not directly proved; indirect evidence.

Clerk. An officer of the court.

Conspire. To agree with another person or persons to commit an act forbidden by law.

Convict. To find a person guilty of a crime.

Counsel. A lawyer or a group of lawyers who conduct a case in court.

Crime. An act forbidden by law or the failure to act according to the law.

Criminal. Relating to crime; a person responsible for or convicted of a crime.

Criminal Code. The set of laws passed by the government in Ottawa which relate to crime.

Cross-examination. The questioning of a witness by the opposing counsel.

Crown. The government, represented by the King or Queen, symbolizing society as a whole.

Crown Counsel. A lawyer or a group of lawyers who appear on behalf of the Crown at a criminal trial and attempt to prove that the accused is guilty.

Defendant. A person against whom a legal action is brought; the defendant in a criminal trial is called the accused or the prisoner.

Defence Counsel. A lawyer or a group of lawyers who appear on behalf of the accused at a trial and attempt to prove that he is not guilty.

Deliberate. To carefully consider both sides of an issue in order to come to a decision.

Direct Evidence. Evidence presented by a witness who saw an act committed, heard certain words spoken, etc.

Direct Examination. The questioning of a witness under oath by the counsel of the party producing him in court.

Dock. The place in a courtroom where the accused sits or stands during a trial.

Empanelling a Jury. The process of compiling a list of potential jurors and choosing a jury from the list.

Evidence. A piece of information (a statement on something seen or heard, a document, an object, etc.) presented at a trial which helps establish a fact or clarify a point being considered.

Exhibit. A document or object presented as evidence at a trial.

Expert Witness. A person who is highly informed in some special field and who is therefore asked to testify at a trial.

Extenuating Circumstances. Surrounding facts that tend to reduce the blame for a crime and possibly reduce the punishment for it.

Eyewitness. A person who gives evidence as to something he saw or heard, etc.

Fact. Something that actually took place or is true.

Foreman. The person who chairs and speaks for a jury.

Gaol. (pronounced "jail") Jail.

Gaol Delivery. The trying of any prisoners who are in jail at the time of the court session.

Guilty. Responsible for or convicted of a crime.

Hearsay Evidence. Testimony based on what a witness has been told by another person and not on things he has seen or heard himself; such evidence is usually not admissible.

High Treason. Levying war against the government or preparing to do so.

Hung Jury. A jury that cannot reach a verdict because of strong disagreement among its members.

Impartial. Not favouring one side or party more than another.

Inadmissible Evidence. Evidence which cannot be admitted or received, e.g. a statement, document or object which does not meet the established rules of evidence.

Indictment. A written accusation charging one or more persons with a crime and used as the basis for a trial.

Insanity. A mental disorder or disability of the mind which makes a person incapable of understanding the nature and results of his or her acts.

Judge. A person appointed to preside over a courtroom and to determine the proper punishment for a person found guilty.

Judgement. The decision of the court.

Jurisdiction. The geographic area and the area of law in which a court has the power to operate.

Juror. A member of a jury.

Jury. A group of persons (usually twelve) sworn to hear evidence, decide the facts of a case, and give a verdict in accordance with their findings.

Jury Box. The area in a courtroom where the members of the jury sit during a trial.

Jury Panel. A list of potential jurors.

Law. A rule or set of rules as to what must or must not be done.

Lawyer. A person licensed to practice law.

Leading Question. A question put to a witness in such a way as to suggest the answer he should give; such questions are not allowed in direct examination but are allowed in cross-examination.

Oath. A solemn declaration before God.

Objection. The process of challenging the validity or admissibility of evidence presented by the opposing side, or the way in which questions are asked.

Offence. The breaking of a law.

Oyer and Terminer. (pronounced "O yer" or "Oi er" and "Ter min er") A phrase meaning "to hear and to determine."

Oyez. (pronounced "O yes" or "O yez") A word meaning "hear ye" which is called out several times to get attention before a proclamation is read.

Plea. The final response ("guilty" or "not guilty") of the accused to a criminal charge.

Prisoner. The accused.

Prosecute. To conduct a case against the accused in court.

Recess. A short break in a trial.

Rest a Case. To have presented all of the evidence for one's side.

Sentence. The punishment given a person convicted of a crime.

Sheriff. An officer of the court.

Stand Aside. To temporarily eliminate a potential juror.

Summation of Evidence. The recapitulation or summing up of one's side of a case.

Supreme Court. The Supreme Court of a province is the highest trial court in that province; the Supreme Court of Canada is the highest court in the country and the final court of appeal for a case heard in any court in Canada.

Testify. To give evidence under oath or affirmation.

Testimony. Evidence given under oath or affirmation.

Treason. An attempt to overthrow the government by force or violence.

Treason – Felony. The intention to commit treason, and therefore a less serious crime than treason itself.

Trial. The examination of a case in court in order to come to a decision on it.

Try. To examine a case in court.

Verdict. The decision of a jury on the case considered; the decision in a criminal trial must be unanimous.

Witness. A person who gives evidence under oath or affirmation.

7. *Prosecution and Defence Strategies for Each Witness*

For a general description of prosecution and defence strategies see the student assignment.

Father Alexis André
A Prince Albert Priest

Defence Strategy

1. Have André describe the Metis grievances and explain what he did to try to get the government to act on these grievances. André could also explain what the Metis did themselves to let the government know of their problems.
2. Get André to admit that he was jealous of Riel's popularity with the Metis people, and that he had supported the government in the 1885 dispute.

Prosecution Strategy

1. Have Father André describe what happened at the meeting held with Riel and MacDowall in December 1884. At this meeting Riel tried to negotiate a settlement of his own claims against the government.

You may wish to consult some of the following books:

Howard Adams. *Prison of Grass*. pp. 134-35.

Hartwell Bowsfield. *Louis Riel*. Oxford, pp. 109, 113-14, 139.

Peter Charlebois. *The Life of Louis Riel*. pp. 122-27, 132, 136-39, 223-24, 226.

Thomas Flanagan. *Louis 'David' Riel*. pp. 127, 129-34.

Thomas Flanagan. *Riel and the Rebellion*. pp. 47, 101-04, 107-14

Joseph Howard. *Strange Empire*. pp. 366-68, 373, 522-23.

Desmond Morton. *The Queen v Louis Riel*. pp. xviii, xx, 226-35.

George Stanley. *The Birth of Western Canada*. pp. 220-22, 252-53, 309-12, 315.

George Stanley. *Louis Riel*. pp. 273, 277-79, 284-85, 289-90, 294-97, 299-302, 307, 328-29.

A.H. Trémaudan. *Hold High Your Heads*. pp. 146-47, 187-89.

George Woodcock. *Gabriel Dumont*. Hurtig, pp. 117, 128, 130, 142, 148, 153-55.

Evelina Barnabé
The Woman Riel Jilted

Defence Strategy

1. Have Evelina Barnabé describe her relationship with Riel. She could testify about her first impressions of Riel, his nervous breakdown, his mission in life, and the months they spent together after his release from a mental hospital. You should build a case to show that Riel was a non-violent, religious person who had dedicated his life to helping the Metis people.

Prosecution Strategy

1. Ask Evelina Barnabé to explain how Riel abruptly ended their romance and how he married another woman without telling her first. The defence will try to show that Riel was a loving, dedicated person. You should attempt to tarnish this image by bringing out the manner in which he jilted Evelina.

You may wish to consult some of the following books:

Hartwell Bowsfield. *Louis Riel.* Oxford, pp. 69, 78-79, 82.

Peter Charlebois. *The Life of Louis Riel.* pp. 102, 108, 110-13, 116.

William McCartney Davidson. *Louis Riel 1844—1885. pp. 122-26.*

Thomas Flanagan. Louis 'David' Riel. pp. 39, 45-56, 85-86, 97-100, 104, 111.

Mary Jordan. *To Louis From Your Sister Who Loves You Sara Riel.* p. 81.

E.B. Osler. *Louis Riel.* pp. 159-61, 177-79.

George Stanley. *Louis Riel.* pp. 198, 230-32, 235, 238-39.

Chief Crowfoot
An Astute Indian Chief

Defence Strategy

1. Have Crowfoot explain why he sympathized with the rebel action. He should describe the failure of the government to feed his people as promised; the suffering his people endured as a result; the incompetence of the farm instructors and the agents sent to administer the distribution of food; and the provocative arrests of Bull Elk and Bear's Head.

Prosecution Strategy

1. Get Crowfoot to admit that Riel had approached him in 1879 and 1880 and had sent Bear's Head and other messengers in 1884 and 1885 to try to get him to rebel against the government.

You may wish to consult some of the following books:

Ronald Atkin. *Maintain the Right*. pp. 197-99.

Bob Beal and Rod Macleod. *Prairie Fire*. pp. 49, 55-80

Hugh Dempsey. *Crowfoot*. pp. 93-107, 111-22, 123-46, 150-51, 154-63, 166, 169-70, 189-90.

Cecil Denny. *The Law Marches West*. pp. 202-06.

Thomas Flanagan. *Louis 'David' Riel*. pp. 101-09.

Carlotta Hacker. *Crowfoot*. pp. 38, 41-48, 51-53.

James MacGregor. *Father Lacombe*. pp. 255-56, 271-72, 281.

Frank Roe. *The North American Buffalo*. pp. 467-88.

Norma Sluman. *Poundmaker*. pp. 68-69, 71-72, 76, 86-88, 95-96, 110, 145-46, 186-87.

John Snow. *These Mountains are Our Sacred Places*. pp. 2-3, 16-17, 20-39, 41-42, 45-46, 50-51, 64.

George Stanley. *The Birth of Western Canada*. pp. 224, 278, 361-62.

George Stanley. *Louis Riel*. p. 242.

Samuel Steele. *Forty Years in Canada*. pp. 181-85.

Superintendent Leif N. F. Crozier
A Mounted Police Officer

Prosecution Strategy

1. Have Crozier describe Riel's ultimatum for the surrender of Fort Carlton. Have him describe what happened at the Battle of Duck Lake.

Defence Strategy

1. Get Crozier to explain how he kept his superiors fully informed of the unrest among the Indians and Metis in 1884 and in 1885 prior to the Battle of Duck Lake. Have him tell how almost the only government response to their grievances was to increase the police force.

You may wish to consult some of the following books:

Ronald Atkin. *Maintain the Right*. pp. 216-21.

Hartwell Bowsfield. *Louis Riel*. Oxford, pp. 118-22.

Peter Charlebois. *The Life of Louis Riel*. pp. 128-29, 132, 140, 142-43, 146-51.

Cecil Denny. *The Law Marches West*. pp. 213-18.

Joseph Howard. *Strange Empire*. pp. 384-96

Desmond Morton. *The Last War Drum*. pp. 3-5

Desmond Morton. *The Queen v Louis Riel. pp. 191-94*.

George Stanley. *The Birth of Western Canada*. pp. 325-32.

George Stanley. *Louis Riel*. pp. 309-22, 347-48, 357

George Woodcock. *Gabriel Dumont*. Hurtig, pp. 168-78.

Theresa Delaney
A Settler from Frog Lake

Prosecution Strategy

1. Have Theresa Delaney place the blame for the Indians' uprising on the half-breeds and the Hudson's Bay Company.
2. Have Theresa Delaney explain why she and her husband did not move to Fort Pitt when advised to do so by Inspector Dickens. Have her describe what happened at Frog Lake on April 1 and 2, 1885, and describe her two-month captivity.

Defence Strategy

1. Have Theresa Delaney describe how the Indians treated her and the other prisoners. Did the Indians physically harm any of the prisoners? Did they give them less food or poorer clothing or shelter than they had themselves? Ask her to explain why she thinks the Indians took her and the others hostage.

You may wish to consult some of the following books:

Edward Ahenakew. *Voices of the Plains Cree*. pp. 103-09.

Bob Beal and Rod Macleod. *Prairie Fire*. pp. 68, 189, 191-203, 212.

William Cameron. *Blood Red the Sun*. pp. 29-33, 58-62, 67-71, 83-89, 111-15, 139, 181-82.

Guillaume Charette. *Vanishing Spaces*. pp. 114-30.

Peter Charlebois. *The Life of Louis Riel*. pp. 160-62.

Hugh A. Dempsey. *Big Bear*. pp. 151-62, 177.

Frog Lake Massacre. Heritage House, pp. 3-53, 74-92.

Joseph Howard. *Strange Empire*. pp. 413, 419, 496-97.

Stuart Hughes. *The Frog Lake "Massacre."* pp. 63-67, 80-82, 178-201, 207, 216-17, 226-40.

William Oppen. *The Riel Rebellions*. pp. 32-34, 77-90.

George Woodcock. *Gabriel Dumont*. Hurtig, p. 185.

Gabriel Dumont
Military Leader of the Metis

Defence Strategy

1. Have Dumont testify about the hardships experienced by the Metis and Indians because of the end of the buffalo hunt. Have him describe how the federal government failed to respond to the numerous Metis petitions, and how Riel helped prepare one final petition.
2. Have Dumont explain that Riel intended to return to Montana once his petition had been completed and sent to Ottawa. Have him testify that he and the other Metis demanded that Riel stay and continue the fight with Ottawa.
3. Have Dumont describe how the Metis heard that the North West Mounted Police were marching on Batoche with 500 men. Have him explain that the Metis were thus forced to loot stores around Batoche for arms and ammunition.
4. Have Dumont take responsibility for the violence at Duck Lake, Fish Creek and Batoche. Have him explain that Riel had only wanted to take hostages to force Macdonald to negotiate, and, once the violence erupted, constantly worked to limit the bloodshed.

Prosecution Strategy

1. Get Dumont to describe Riel's involvement in seeking the support of Chiefs Big Bear and Poundmaker in 1884 and 1885; in looting stores on March 18, 1885; and in the Battles of Duck Lake, Fish Creek and Batoche.

You may wish to consult some of the following books:

Howard Adams. *Prison of Grass*. pp. 102-05.

Hartwell Bowsfield. *Louis Riel*. Oxford, pp. 94-132.

Guillaume Charette. *Vanishing Spaces*. pp. 109-11.

Peter Charlebois. *The Life of Louis Riel*. pp. 122-28, 132-36, 141, 143, 146-51, 158-59, 161, 166-68, 170, 179-84, 187-99.

Thomas Flanagan. *Riel and the Rebellion*. pp. 29, 33-34, 37, 47, 75.

Joseph Howard. *Strange Empire*. pp. 372-75, 380-82, 386, 388-96, 402-19, 424-31, 460-82.

Antoine Lussier and D. Bruce Sealey, eds. *The Other Natives: The-Les Métis*. pp. 152-66, 168-72.

Desmond Morton. *The Last War Drum*. pp. 3-5, 61-68, 79-94.

William Oppen. *The Riel Rebellions*. pp. 29-31, 38-51, 63-76, 97, 105.

George Stanley. *The Birth of Western Canada*. pp. 194-261, 269-94, 298-307, 312-16, 323-28, 332-43, 358-59, 363-65, 368-71, 443.

George Stanley. *Louis Riel*. pp. 248, 250, 259-64, 276-91, 297-99, 304-05, 309, 313-19, 322-24, 329-38.

George Woodcock. *Gabriel Dumont*. Fitzhenry and Whiteside, pp. 30-34, 38-60.

George Woodcock. *Gabriel Dumont*. Hurtig, pp. 60, 84, 112-31, 137-42, 146-49, 151, 153, 156-59, 163-68, 170-80, 183-89, 194-206, 208-10, 212, 216-21.

Madeleine Dumont
A Metis Woman

Defence Strategy

1. Have Madeleine Dumont explain why Riel and her husband Gabriel took illegal action in March 1885.
2. Have Madeleine Dumont contrast the actions of Riel and her husband during the Battles of Fish Creek and Batoche.
3. Have Madeleine Dumont describe the medical treatment of the wounded Metis following the Battles of Fish Creek and Batoche. Have her describe the conditions facing the women and children before, during and after the Battle of Batoche.

Prosecution Strategy

1. Ask Madeleine Dumont if it was Riel or her husband who led the Metis from March 26 until May 12, 1885.

You may wish to consult some of the following books:

Howard Adams. *Prison of Grass*. pp. 106-07.

Hartwell Bowsfield. *Louis Riel*. Oxford, pp. 92-118, 123-24, 126-32.

Peter Charlebois. *The Life of Louis Riel*. pp. 122-43, 150, 159, 179-87, 191-99, 202-04.

Thomas Flanagan. *Louis 'David' Riel*. pp. 135, 138-41.

Joseph Howard. *Strange Empire*. pp. 357-62, 366-96, 402-06, 422-31, 436-38, 445-46, 460-88.

Antoine Lussier and D. Bruce Sealey, eds. *The Other Natives: The-Les Métis*. pp. 172-75.

Sandra McKee. *Gabriel Dumont*. pp. 25, 28.

Desmond Morton. *The Last War Drum*. pp. 11-22, 61-62, 79, 92.

George Stanley. *The Birth of Western Canada*. pp. 295-328, 355-59, 371-72.

George Stanley. *Louis Riel*. pp. 306-07, 329-39.

A.H. Trémaudan. *Hold High Your Heads*. pp. 115-16, 132-39

George Woodcock. *Gabriel Dumont*. Fitzhenry and Whiteside, pp. 29-60.

George Woodcock. *Gabriel Dumont*. Hurtig, pp. 183-95, 205, 209-10, 221-26, 232, 234.

Captain Arthur L. Howard
A Soldier of Fortune

Prosecution Strategy

1. Have Howard describe his trip to the battlefront and his actions during the Battle of Batoche.

Defence Strategy

1. Get Howard to explain why an American citizen would travel to a foreign country to help its government suppress a group of people who were fighting for their rights.

You may wish to consult some of the following books:

Peter Charlebois. *The Life of Louis Riel*. pp. 192-98.

Joseph Howard. *Strange Empire*. pp. 451-55, 465-74, 476-82, 502.

R.C. Macleod. *Reminiscences of a Bungle by One of the Bunglers: and Two Other North-West Rebellion Diaries*. pp. 16-17, 28, 39-41, 44, 71-72, 95, 185, 274-75.

Nick and Helma Mika. *The Riel Rebellion 1885*. pp. 90-91, 103, 106, 109, 115.

Desmond Morton and Reginald H. Roy. *Telegrams of the North-West Campaign 1885*. pp. lvi-lxiv, 66, 113, 133-34.

Desmond Morton. *The Last War Drum*. pp. 28, 75-76, 82.

Charles Mulvaney. *The North-West Rebellion of 1885*. pp. 114, 194, 197-218, 221, 233, 245-47, 252, 256, 258-60, 264, 266, 288, 296-306.

William Oppen. *The Riel Rebellions*. pp. 63-76, 97.

George Woodcock. *Gabriel Dumont*. Hurtig, p. 207.

William Henry Jackson
A Champion of the Underdog

Defence Strategy

1. Ask Jackson to describe the grievances of the people living in the North West.
2. Ask Jackson to explain how the federal government had neglected the North West.
3. Have Jackson explain the work he and Riel did to put together the petition of rights in the summer and fall of 1884. Have him tell how the people supported Riel and demanded that he take stronger measures when peaceful and democratic methods failed.

Prosecution Strategy

1. Get Jackson to admit that Riel was the leader of the rebellion and ask him if he supported Riel's illegal actions.
2. Get Jackson to admit that he was a militant Liberal and that a major purpose of his work in uniting the discontented groups in the North West was to oppose and embarrass Macdonald.

You may wish to consult some of the following books:

Howard Adams. *Prison of Grass*. pp. 80-81, 86, 91, 114.

Hartwell Bowsfield. *Louis Riel*. Oxford, pp. 94-108, 111-17.

Peter Charlebois. *The Life of Louis Riel*. pp. 126-27, 132, 134-35, 138, 140-41, 150, 222.

Thomas Flanagan. *Louis 'David' Riel*. pp. 123-24, 133-34, 136.

Thomas Flanagan. *Riel and the Rebellion*. pp. 87-88, 94-100, 125.

Joseph Howard. *Strange Empire*. pp. 369-70, 373, 376-83, 546.

E.B. Osler. *Louis Riel*. pp. 203-04.

George Stanley. *The Birth of Western Canada*. pp. 298, 300-03, 305-07, 312-16, 323-24.

George Stanley. *Louis Riel*. pp. 267-80, 291, 298-99, 302, 304-06.

George Woodcock. *Gabriel Dumont*. Hurtig, pp. 134-35, 153, 162-63, 167.

Robert Jefferson
A Farm Instructor

Defence Strategy

1. Get Jefferson to explain that Chief Poundmaker's people were hungry because of the previous year's crop failure and the government's reduction in their rations, and that Poundmaker led them to Battleford to get food. He should also explain that they were upset by the government's indifference to their problems, by arrogant and incompetent Indian agents and farm instructors, and by a confrontation with the Mounted Police in 1884.
2. Get Jefferson to explain that Poundmaker managed to keep most of his men out of the rebellion until he was attacked at Cut Knife Hill by Colonel Otter on May 2.

Prosecution Strategy

1. Have Jefferson describe the frequent visits of Riel's messengers to Poundmaker's camp and Poundmaker's correspondence with Riel.
2. Have Jefferson confirm that Poundmaker did go to Battleford; that Poundmaker did fight at Cut Knife Hill; and that Poundmaker did move in the direction of Batoche after May 2.

You may wish to consult some of the following books:

Ronald Atkin. *Maintain the Right*. pp. 208-09, 223-24, 240-41.

Donald Barnett. *Poundmaker*. pp. 1-4, 26-47, 54-56.

William Cameron. *Blood Red the Sun*. pp. 9-24.

Peter Charlebois. *The Life of Louis Riel*. pp. 126, 146, 167-75.

Joseph Howard. *Strange Empire*. pp. 21-22, 406-08, 433-36, 474-75, 492.

Desmond Morton. *The Canadian General: Sir William Otter*. pp. 99-100, 109-22.

Desmond Morton. *The Last War Drum*. pp. 17, 102-16, 140.

Desmond Morton. *The Queen v Louis Riel*. pp. 223-26.

Charles Mulvaney. *The North West Rebellion of 1885*. pp. 83, 85, 108-12, 307, 358-59.

Norma Sluman. *Poundmaker*. pp. 86-87, 96-101, 104-10, 119, 125, 146-79, 185-91, 197-207, 211-13, 216-36, 264-66.

George Stanley. *The Birth of Western Canada*. pp. 284-94, 234-36, 363-68.

A.H. Trémaudan. *Hold High Your Heads*. pp. 184-86.

Effie Laurie
A Future Journalist

Prosecution Strategy

1. Have Effie Laurie describe the half-breed and Indian reaction to the eclipse of the sun on March 16, 1885; the fear that gripped the inhabitants of Battleford when they fled their homes on March 29 and later saw their homes looted and burned; the hardships suffered by them during and after the rebellion; the arrival of Colonel Otter at Battleford; and the funeral of the men killed at the Battle of Cut Knife Hill.

Defence Strategy

1. Ask Effie Laurie if Poundmaker's men made a serious attack on Battleford. Have her try to explain why they did not exploit their opportunities before the arrival of the Canadian militia.

You may wish to consult some of the following books:

Bob Beal and Rod Macleod. *Prairie Fire*. pp. 179-84, 189, 205-06, 240-41, 253.

Peter Charlebois. *The Life of Louis Riel*. pp. 151, 167-75, 210-14.

Joseph Howard. *Strange Empire*. pp. 406-09, 436.

R.C. MacLeod. *Reminiscences of a Bungle by One of the Bunglers: and Two Other North West Rebellion Diaries*. pp. 140, 143, 160.

Arlean McPherson. *The Battlefords: A History*. pp. 54-55, 63, 77, 79-107.

Nick and Helma Mika. *The Riel Rebellion 1885*. pp. 33-40, 68, 72, 93, 134.

Desmond Morton. *The Canadian General: Sir William Otter*. pp. 99-100, 105-07, 109-14, 119-24.

Desmond Morton. *The Last War Drum*. pp. 99, 102-10.

William Oppen. *The Riel Rebellions*. pp. 36-37.

George Stanley. *The Birth of Western Canada*. pp. 285-87, 321, 334-36, 343, 360, 372-73.

George Woodcock. *Gabriel Dumont*. Hurtig, p. 185.

Sir John A. Macdonald
Prime Minister of Canada

Defence Strategy

1. Get Macdonald to admit that he was well aware of the grievances of the people living in the North West in the 1880's but did little to resolve them. Instead he sent police to the area.
2. Get Macdonald to admit that the rebellion helped justify his efforts to build the Canadian Pacific Railway; that it helped persuade Parliament to agree to finance the completion of the railway; and that his neglect of the Metis problems provoked the rebellion.

Prosecution Strategy

1. Have Macdonald defend his actions or lack of action in dealing with the problems of the North West.

You may wish to consult some of the following books:

Howard Adams. *Prison of Grass*. pp. 81-83, 89-94, 98-103.

Ronald Atkin. *Maintain the Right*. pp. 205-11, 214.

Pierre Berton. *The Last Spike*. pp. 343, 345, 355-58, 382, 386, 390, 396-97, 402-03, 412-16.

Hartwell Bowsfield. *Louis Riel*. Oxford, pp. 94-103, 111-12, 114-17, 136.

Peter Charlebois. *The Life of Louis Riel*. pp. 115, 122-24, 129, 131-38, 140-41, 146-47, 152-53, 155, 217.

Donald Creighton. *John A. Macdonald: The Old Chieftain*. pp. 383-88, 394-98, 404-06, 408, 411-20, 422-28, 436.

Thomas Flanagan. *Riel and the Rebellion*. pp. 15, 23, 27-28, 33-34, 37, 47, 51-53, 58-59, 69-72, 101, 114, 135-36.

Joseph Howard. *Strange Empire*. pp. 371-75, 377.

James G. MacGregor. *Vision of an Ordered Land*. pp. 90-102.

Desmond Morton. *The Last War Drum*. pp. 33-38, 155-56.

George Stanley. *The Birth of Western Canada*. pp. 256-61, 300, 302, 306-07, 311-14, 321-23, 344, 350-52, 354, 386, 444.

George Stanley. *Louis Riel*. pp. 260-64, 272-73, 289, 295-97, 324, 344.

George Woodcock. *Gabriel Dumont*. Hurtig, pp. 114-17, 123-31, 139, 153-56, 181-82, 185, 187.

Elizabeth McLean
A Sixteen Year Old Hostage

Prosecution Strategy

1. Have Elizabeth McLean describe her experiences at Fort Pitt — the negotiations with the Indians, the death and wounding of two scouts, and the looting of Fort Pitt.
2. Have Elizabeth McLean describe what she saw at Fort Pitt, at Frog Lake and at Loon Lake.

Defence Strategy

1. Have Elizabeth McLean describe the treatment of the prisoners during their captivity.

You may wish to consult some of the following books:

Ronald Atkin. *Maintain the Right*. pp. 226-29, 245-49.

Bob Beal and Rod Macleod. *Prairie Fire*. pp. 203-05, 214-19, 286-87.

William Cameron. *Blood Red the Sun*. pp. 93-108, 138-39, 182-86.

Peter Charlebois. *The Life of Louis Riel*. pp. 165-66, 205-07, 415-21.

Hugh A. Dempsey. *Big Bear*. pp. 162-71, 174-75, 178-79.

Frog Lake Massacre. Heritage House, pp. 21-27, 32-33, 74-93.

Joseph Howard. *Strange Empire*. pp. 415-21.

Stuart Hughes. *The Frog Lake "Massacre."* pp. 244-95.

Edward McCourt. *Buckskin Brigadier*. pp. 35-42, 103-10, 120-34.

Charles P. Mulvaney. *North-West Rebellion of 1885*. pp. 124-26, 404-06.

William Oppen. *The Riel Rebellions*. pp. 78-79.

George Stanley. *The Birth of Western Canada*. pp. 339-43, 374-77.

Samuel Steele. *Forty Years in Canada*. pp. 224-27.

Major-General Frederick Middleton
Commander of the Militia

Prosecution Strategy

1. Have Middleton describe his difficult march north towards Batoche and the battle and casualties at Fish Creek.
2. Have Middleton describe the battle and casualties at Batoche and his efforts to free the white hostages held by Chief Big Bear.

Defence Strategy

1. Try to discredit Middleton as a witness by getting him to reveal his lack of confidence in his Canadian officers and inexperienced troops; his lack of confidence in the North West Mounted Police; his cautious approach at Batoche; and his arrogant confrontation with Chief Poundmaker.

You may wish to consult some of the following books:

Howard Adams. *Prison of Grass*. pp. 103-05.

Ronald Atkin. *Maintain the Right*. pp. 232-42, 252.

Peter Charlebois. *The Life of Louis Riel*. pp. 155, 158, 173-74, 178-34, 188-99, 206-07.

Joseph Howard. *Strange Empire*. pp. 396-97, 422-31, 433, 447-50, 460-84.

Nick and Helma Mika. *The Riel Rebellion 1885*. pp. 125, 129.

Desmond Morton. *The Canadian General: Sir William Otter*. pp. 110, 122, 125-31.

Desmond Morton. *The Last War Drum*. pp. 28, 51-53, 56-95, 112, 126-35, 140-42.

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William Oppen. *The Riel Rebellions*. pp. 38-51, 63-76, 97.

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George Stanley. *Louis Riel*. pp. 325, 331-33, 339, 344.

George Woodcock. *Gabriel Dumont*. Hurtig, pp. 194-221.

Charles Nolin
Riel's Cousin and Opponent

Prosecution Strategy

1. Have Nolin explain how Riel was prepared to leave the North West if the Canadian government gave him $35 000.
2. Have Nolin explain how he organized a meeting on February 24, 1885, to inform the people of the government's answer to their petition. Have him describe how Riel arranged for five or six people to protest his own offer to return to the United States.
3. Have Nolin explain why he finally opposed Riel.
4. Have Nolin explain how Riel forced him to support the rebellion.

Defence Strategy

1. Get Nolin to admit that he did not like Riel and that his dislike dated back to 1870
2. Have Nolin describe Riel's poverty. Get him to admit that Riel's request for $35 000 from the government was conditional on the government satisfying the settlers' grievances.
3. Get Nolin to admit that he strongly supported Riel up until March 5, 1885, and even advocated the use of violence by the Metis to achieve their objectives.

You may wish to consult some of the following books:

Howard Adams. *Prison of Grass*. pp. 91-97, 134-35.

Peter Charlebois. *The Life of Louis Riel*. pp. 58, 127, 134, 137-39, 141, 143.

Thomas Flanagan. *Louis 'David' Riel*. pp. 129-31.

Thomas Flanagan. *Riel and the Rebellion*. pp. 71, 102, 107-14.

Joseph Howard. *Strange Empire*. pp. 172-73, 366-67, 376, 383, 516-17.

Desmond Morton. *The Queen v Louis Riel*. pp. 194-204.

George Stanley. *The Birth of Western Canada*. pp. 94-95, 303-04, 312.

George Stanley. *Louis Riel*. pp. 84, 86-87, 92, 94, 264, 270-74, 276-78, 285, 292, 295-99, 301-03, 308-11, 317, 324-25, 412.

A.H. Trémaudan. *Hold High your Heads*. pp. 124, 146-47, 187-89.

George Woodcock. *Gabriel Dumont*. Hurtig, pp. 120-21, 128-30, 134-35, 144-47, 155-56, 158-61, 166-69, 175.

Lieutenant-Colonel William D. Otter
Commander of the Battleford Column

Prosecution Strategy

1. Have Otter describe the enthusiastic way in which his men responded to their call to arms, and the hardships they endured on the trip along the north shore of Lake Superior.
2. Have Otter describe his march to Battleford, the condition of the village after weeks of pillaging, and the relief of the police and civilians when his expedition arrived.
3. Have Otter explain why he attacked Poundmaker at Cut Knife Hill and describe the battle, his casualties and his retreat.

Defence Strategy

1. Get Otter to admit that Battleford was in a reasonably strong military position before his arrival and that the citizens and press greatly exaggerated their peril.
2. Try to get Otter to admit that Poundmaker had stayed on his reserve from April 1 until May 2, when he was attacked without any attempt at negotiation. Get him to admit that he made a surprise attack on a camp containing women and children.
3. Have Otter admit that Poundmaker's men did not attack his retreating troops following the Battle of Cut Knife Hill.

You may wish to consult some of the following books:

Pierre Berton. *The Great Railway*. pp. 289-99.

Pierre Berton. *The Last Spike*. pp. 358-79.

Peter Charlebois. *The Life of Louis Riel*. pp. 70-77, 153-54, 167-72.

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Charles Mulvaney. *The North-West Rebellion of 1885*. pp. 101-02, 156-85, 307.

Norma Sluman. *Poundmaker*. pp. 198-207, 211-12, 221-29.

George Stanley. *The Birth of Western Canada*. pp. 334-36, 365-68.

Chief Poundmaker
A Peacemaker

Defence Strategy

1. Have Poundmaker explain why some of his men were in favour of helping Riel.

Prosecution Strategy

1. Get Poundmaker to admit that Louis Riel had wanted him to capture Battleford and had sent him a letter to this effect on April 8; that he had already led his men to Battleford on March 30; and that his men had terrorized its inhabitants and looted the village and its surrounding farms.
2. Get Poundmaker to admit that he ordered his men to resist Colonel Otter's attack on May 2 and that he personally took part in the battle.

You may wish to consult some of the following books:

Edward Ahenakew. *Voices of the Plains Cree*. pp. 103-09.

Donald Barnett. *Poundmaker*. pp. 1-4, 26-44, 54-56.

William Cameron. *Blood Red the Sun*. pp. 9-24.

Peter Charlebois. *The Life of Louis Riel*. pp. 126, 146, 158, 167-73, 187, 223.

Joseph Dion. *My Tribe the Crees*. pp. 76-77, 105-13.

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Desmond Morton. *The Canadian General: Sir William Otter*. pp. 109-22.

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Charles Mulvaney. *The North-West Rebellion of 1885*. pp. 56, 108-12, 189-91, 307-09, 358-59, 378-79.

William Oppen. *The Riel Rebellions*. pp. 36-37, 52-62.

Norma Sluman. *Poundmaker*. pp. 42-53, 67-69, 72, 74, 86-88, 96-100, 125, 136-37, 141, 146-79, 185-91, 196-236.

George Stanley. *The Birth of Western Canada*. pp. 283-94, 334-36, 363-68.

George Stanley. *Louis Riel*. pp. 258, 281, 335, 357.

George Woodcock. *Gabriel Dumont*. Hurtig, pp. 185-86.

Marguerite Monet Riel
Wife of Louis Riel

Defence Strategy

1. Have Marguerite Riel describe the devotion, gentleness and love Riel gave her and their children.
2. Have Marguerite Riel describe Riel's "mission" and tell how she saw him struggle to help the Metis of Montana and Saskatchewan.
3. Have Marguerite Riel bring out the fact that the people wanted Riel to be their leader. She saw the four delegates sent to Montana to approach Riel, and witnessed his enthusiastic welcome at Fish Creek and Batoche.

Prosecution Strategy

1. Ask Marguerite Riel if she ever noticed anything unusual about Riel's actions, especially from January to May 1885. The defence counsel will probably try to prove that Riel was insane, but Marguerite believed he was perfectly sane.

You may wish to consult some of the following books:

Hartwell Bo sfield. *Louis Riel*. Oxford, pp. 103-05, 111-34.

Bob Beal and Rod Macleod. *Prairie Fire*. pp. 107-10, 113, 122, 127, 130, 133, 139.

Peter Charlebois. *The Life of Louis Riel*. pp. 115-19, 126-27, 231-32, 235, 292, 294-96, 299.

William McCartney Davidson. *Louis Riel 1844-1885*. pp. 127-45, 181-83, 209-11

Thomas Flanagan. *Louis 'David' Riel*. pp. 109-12, 116.

Joseph Howard. *Strange Empire*. pp. 341-42, 345-53, 355, 357-68, 370-73, 376-82, 384, 386-87, 404-05, 437-41.

George Stanley. *Louis Riel*. pp. 238-41, 243-51, 274-87, 291-92, 296-304.

George Woodcock. *Gabriel Dumont*. Hurtig, pp. 140-45.

Major Samuel Benfield Steele
Commander of the Cavalry and Scouts

Prosecution Strategy

1. Have Steele describe his arrest of the Metis Bear's Head at Blackfoot Crossing in 1884.
2. Have Steele describe the terror felt by the Alberta settlers in April 1885, and his participation in the fighting at Red Deer Creek and Loon Lake.

Defence Strategy

1. Get Steele to describe the life of the Indians and Metis before the destruction of the buffalo; the plight of the Indians following the destruction of the herds; and the frustration of the Metis over not being given title to their land.

You may wish to consult some of the following books:

Ronald Atkin. *Maintain the Right*. pp. 144-47, 205-06, 208-11, 243-49.

Bob Beal and Rod Macleod. *Prairie Fire*. pp. 280, 282-89.

William Cameron. *Blood Red the Sun*. pp. 155, 164-70, 177-78.

Peter Charlebois. *The Life of Louis Riel*. pp. 205-07.

Hugh Dempsey. *Crowfoot*. pp. 62-67, 98, 111-13, 131-62, 156-60.

Hugh Dempsey. *William Parker: Mounted Policeman*. pp. 69-74.

Frog Lake Massacre. Heritage House, pp. 19-20, 27-33, 59-73, 89-90.

Stan Garrod. *Sam Steele*. pp. 31-39.

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R.C. Macleod. *Reminiscences of a Bungle by One of the Bunglers: and Two Other North-West Rebellion Diaries*. pp. 66, 68, 71, 74.

Desmond Morton. *The Last War Drum*. pp. 111-26.

William Oppen. *The Riel Rebellions*. pp. 77-90.

George Stanley. *The Birth of Western Canada*. pp. 178-82, 188-90, 217-94, 363, 374-76.

Samuel Steele. *Forty Years in Canada*. pp. 87, 93-96, 102-06, 110, 115, 117-21, 146-48, 153-54, 176, 179-85, 197, 201-02, 211-31.

Roderick Stewart. *Sam Steele: Lion of the Frontier*. pp. 66-67, 69-70, 74, 104-09, 127-51.

Wandering Spirit
War Chief of Big Bear's Band

Prosecution Strategy

1. Have Wandering Spirit testify that Louis Riel had asked for Chief Big Bear's help on at least three occasions — on the Missouri River in 1881, in the fall of 1884, and following the battle at Duck Lake in 1885.
2. Have Wandering Spirit describe what happened at Frog Lake on April 2; at Fort Pitt on April 13-15; at Frenchman's Butte and Red Deer Creek on May 27-28; and at Loon Lake on June 3, 1885.

Defence Strategy

1. Get Wandering Spirit to describe the humiliation of being granted food by the Indian agents; the hunger caused by the Canadian government's reduction in the food allotments; and the frustration of being confined to a reservation.
2. Have Wandering Spirit explain that his (and Riel's) original intention had been not to cause bloodshed but to seize hostages. In this way, they hoped to force the government to solve Indian and Metis problems.

You may wish to consult some of the following books:

Edward Ahenakew. *Voices of the Plains Crees*. pp. 103-09.

Bob Beal and Rod Macleod. *Prairie Fire*. pp. 49, 55-80, 85-88, 91-92, 94-101, 114-17, 120-22, 189-203, 212, 214-19, 285-87.

Hartwell Bowsfield. *Louis Riel*. Oxford, pp. 98-102.

William Cameron. *Blood Red the Sun*. pp. 1-8, 25-27, 33, 35-36, 47-112, 159-70, 183-86, 206.

Peter Charlebois. *The Life of Louis Riel*. pp. 129, 132, 160-66, 205-07.

Hugh A. Dempsey. *Big Bear*. pp. 150-81.

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Frog Lake Massacre. Heritage House, pp. 3-53, 63-65, 77-93.

Joseph Howard. *Strange Empire*. pp. 253, 256-58, 260-66, 291, 370, 406-07, 409-21.

Stuart Hughes. *The Frog Lake "Massacre."* pp. 12-16, 28-29, 35, 39-50, 69-81, 103-19, 353-59.

Edward McCourt. *Buckskin Brigadier*. pp. 27-42, 91-110.

George Stanley. *The Birth of Western Canada*. pp. 336-37, 339-43, 373-77.

A.H. Trémaudan. *Hold High Your Heads*. pp. 184-86.

V. Bibliography

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1. *Books* (See bibliography in *The Riel Rebellion: A Biographical Approach.*)

2. *Films*

Age of the Buffalo. NFB, 1964, 14 min.
Ballad of Crowfoot. NFB, 1968, 10 min.
The Birds of Winter. Crystal Bear, 1981, 27 min.
This Riel Business. NFB, 1974, 27 min.
Treaty with the Blackfoot. Glenbow, 1978, 20 min.
Riel. CBC, 1979, 180 min.

3. *Filmstrips and Slides*

Batoche. NFB, 10 slides.
Fort Battleford. NFB, 20 slides.
The Hard Times of Louis Riel. Prentice-Hall.
Louis Riel. NFB, 10 slides.
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Frog Lake: *Frog Lake 73E/16: 1:50,000 or Vermillion 73E: 1:250,000*
Fish Creek and Batoche: *Rostherm 73B/9 and Duck Lake 73B/16: 1:50,000*
Red Deer Creek and Fort Pitt: *St. Walburg 73F/11 and Frenchman's Butte 73F/12: 1:50,000*
Loon Lake: *Makwa Lake 73K/3: 1:50,000*
Cut Knife Hill: *Delmas 73C/15: 1:50,000*

B. Legal Bibiography

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